Mr. NEAL's HISTORY OF THE PURITANS,

OP

Protestant Non-Conformists,

A NEW EDITION,

REVISED, CORRECTED, AND ENLARGED,

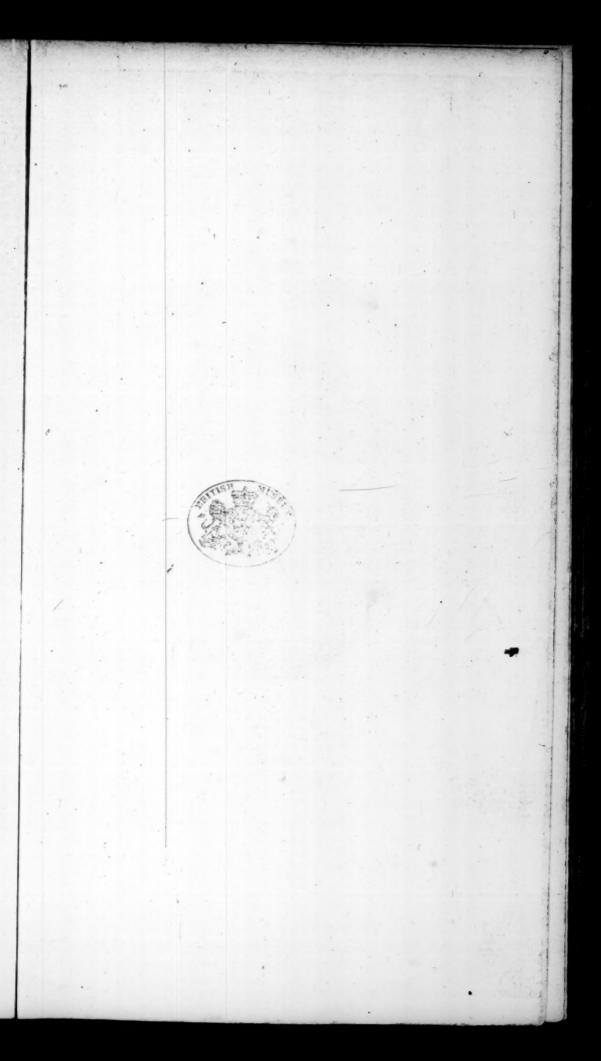
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JOSHUA TOULMIN, D.D.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

VOL. V.

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HISTORY OF THE PURITANS,

OR.

Protestant Non-Conformists,

FROM THE

DEATH OF KING CHARLES II.

TO THE

ACT of TOLERATION in the Reign of King WILLIAM and Queen Mary, in the Year 1688.

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF

Their Principles; their Attempts for a further Reformation in the Church; their Sufferings; and the Lives and Characters of their principal Divines.

VOLUME V.

WITH AN INDEX TO THE FIVE VOLUMES.

By DANIEL NEAL, M. A.

A NEW EDITION,
REVISED, CORRECTED, AND ENLARGED,
By JOSHUA TOULMIN, D.D.

Some Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Author.

This know also, that in the last days perilous times shall come.
2 Tim. iii. I.

They shall put you out of the Synagogues: yea, the time cometh, that whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God service.

John xvi. 2.

BATH, PRINTED BY R. CRUTTWELL;

AND SOLD BY

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EDITOR'S ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS edition of Mr. NEAL's " History of the Puritans," after many interruptions, being at length completed, and the last volume being now presented to the Publick, the Editor embraces this occasion to make his acknowledgments to the Gentlemen who have affisted and encouraged his defign. He feels his obligations to those who by their names and fubscriptions have patronised it; and he is much indebted to some who, by the communication of books and manuscripts, have aided the execution of it. Situated, as he is, at a great distance from the metropolis, and the libraries there open to the studious, he sees not how he could have enjoyed the means of examining Mr. Neal's authorities, in any extensive degree, and of ascertaining the accuracy of the statements by an inspection of the writers of the last century, had not his GRACE the DUKE of GRAFTON most handsomely offered, and most readily supplied, a great number of books necessary to that purpose, from his large and valuable libraries.

Some books of great authority were obligingly handed to him by *Henry Waymouth*, efq; of Exeter. His thanks

thanks are also due to the Rev. Josiah Thompson, of Clapham, and to Edmund Calamy, esq. To the former, for the free use of his manuscript collections, relative to the History of the Dissenting Churches; and to the latter, for the opportunity of perusing a manuscript of his worthy and learned ancestor, Dr. Edmund Calamy, intitled, "An Historical Account of my "own Life, with some reflections on the times I have "lived in." He has been likewise much indebted to a respectable member of the society of Quakers, Mr. Morris Birkbeck, of Wanborough, Surry, for his judicious remarks on Mr. Neal, and for furnishing him with Gough's valuable History of that people.

While the Editor makes his fincere and grateful acknowledgments to these Gentlemen, and to all who have favoured his undertaking with their approbation and affistance; he begs leave to folicit their further encouragement and aid; and any communications from others, that can contribute to the accuracy or completion of the work which he has before announced, and which he still has in contemplation, namely, " An History of the Protestant " Diffenters, and of the Progress of FREE ENQUIRY " and Religious LIBERTY from the REVOLUTION " to the present Times." He cannot ascertain to what extent this work will reach; but he will aim to comprise the historical, literary, and biographical information, it will include, in as fhort a compass as possible:

possible: and he proposes, lest life and health should not be enjoyed to finish it, to bring it forward from the press in such detached parts as will correspond to the periods into which, he apprehends, it will naturally divide itself, so that each part may form a complete historical survey of the subjects it treats of, down to the time at which it closes.

Mr. Neal's History being voluminous, though as an original work and a book of authority it will retain its value, the Editor, with pleasure, informs his Readers, that his worthy and much-esteemed friend the Rev. Joseph Cornish, of Colyton, Devon, is preparing for the press, a new, corrected, and much-improved edition of his "Brief and Impartial "History of the Puritans," in 12mo, which will be peculiarly adapted for the use of youth, and of those who have not leisure to go through Mr. Neal's larger work, and to assist the recollection of those who are acquainted with it,

TAUNTON,
August 11, 1796.

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ERRATA.

Vol. I. Memoirs of Neale, p. 33 note, l. 16, for George read Grantham. Vol. II. p. 290, l. 14 of note, for Penzano, read Penzani.

ERRATA IN THE NOTES OF VOL. V.

Page 4, line 19, for mere, read more. 30, 1. 2, for Slatter, read Slater. 45, 1. 4. for Ministers, read Minister. 101, 1. 18, after "once for" read "a"

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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

PURITANS

CHAP. I.

From the Death of King CHARLES II. to King JAMES II.'s Declaration for Liberty of Conscience.

1685.

WHEN the news of king Charles's decease was spread over the city, a pensive sadness was visible in most countenances for the fate of the kingdom. His brother James, who succeeded him, told the privy council at his first meeting them, that "as he would never depart from any branch of the prerogative, so he would not invade any man's

* In the Author's edition this is chap. XI. of the 4th volume.

+ Bp. Burnet says, that the proclamation of the king "was a heavy solem"nity: few tears were shed for the former, nor were there any shouts of joy
"for the present king." It appears that the bishop, who was then abroad,
was misinformed in this matter: for Dr. Calamy, who heard the king proclaimed, assure us, that his heart ached within him at the acclamations
made upon the occasion; which, as far as he could observe, were very
general: though he never saw so universal a concern as was visible in all
men's countenances at that time: for great numbers had very terrifying
apprehensions of what was to be expected. The doctor observes, that it
however very sensibly discovered the changeableness of this world, that king
fames should so quietly succeed his brother without any thing like a dispute
or contest; when, but sive years before, a majority of three houses of commons were so bent upon excluding him, that nothing could satisfy them, if
this were not compassed. Calamy's Historical Account of his own Life,
vol. i. p. 95. MSS. Ep.

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es property

" property, but would preserve the government as by law esta" blished in church and state." Which gratified the clergy fo much, that the pulpits throughout England refounded with thankfgivings; and a numerous fet of addresses flattered his majefty in the strongest expressions, with assurances of unshaken loyalty and obedience, without limitation or referve. Among others was the humble address of the university of Oxford; in which, after expressing their forrow for the death of the late king, they add, that they can never swerve from the principles of their institution, and their religion by law established, which indispensably binds them to bear faith and true obedience to their fovereign, without any LIMITATION or RE-STRICTION, and that no confideration what soever should shake their loyalty and allegiance. And the university of Cambridge add, that loyalty for unlimited obedience is a duly flowing from the very principle of their religion, by which they have been enabled to breed up, as true and steady subjects as the world can shew, as well in doctrine as practice, from which they can never depart. The quakers' address was more simple and honest; t " We are come (fay they), s to testify our for-" row for the death of our good friend CHARLES, and our " joy for thy being made our governor. We are told thou " art not of the perfuasion of the church of England, no more 66 than we, therefore we hope thou wilt grant us the fame " liberty, which thou allowest thyself; which doing, we wish "thee all manner of happiness."

^{*&}quot; This speech," bishop Burnet adds, "was magnified as a security far greater than any that laws could give." The common phrase was, We have now the word of a King, and a word never yet broken. Of this Dr. Calamy gives a confirmation on the authority of a person of character and worth, who heard Dr. Sharp, afterwards archbishop of York, as he was preaching at St. Lawrence Jewry at the time, when king James gave this assurance, break out into language to this effect: "As to our religion, we have the word of the king, which (with reverence be it spoken) is as sacred as my text." This high slight was much noticed then, and often recollected afterwards. The doctor had cause to resect on it with regret: when he was, for preaching against popery at his own parish church of St. Giles, the first of the clergy that fell under the king's displeasure, and felt the weight and pressure of his arbitrary power. Historical Account, p. 96. Burnet, p. 620. Ep.

⁺ Gazette, No. 2018. 1 Sewel, p. 594. § Eachard, p. 1051.

^{||} Mr. Neal refers, as one authority for giving this address of the quakers, to Sewel: but it is not to be found there. A modern historian, who censures

The king began his reign with a frank and open profession of his religion; for the first Sunday after his accession, he went publickly to mass, and obliged father Huddleston, who attended his brother in his last hours, to declare to the world that he died a roman catholic. His majesty acted the part of an absolute sovereign from the very first, and though he had declared he would invade no man's property, yet he issued out a proclamation for collecting the duties of tonnage and poundage, &c. which were given to the late king only for life; and in his letter to the Scots parliament, which met March 28, he says, "I am resolved to maintain my power in its greatest lustre, that I may be better able to defend your religion against fanatics."

Before the king had been two months on his throne, he discovered severe resentments against the enemies of his religion, and of his succession to the crown. Dr. Oates was brought out of prison, and tried for perjury in the affair of the popish plot, for which he was sentenced to stand in the pillory several times, to be whipt from Aldgate to Newgate, and from thence to Tyburn; which was exercised with a severity unknown to the English nation. And Dangersield, who

it for the "uncouthness and blunt familiarity of expression," calls it "a "fictitious address;" the members of this society, he observes, "were not in the custom of paying complimentary addresses to any man:" if the sufferings of their friends impelled them to apply to their superiors for relief, "their addresses, though expressed in their plain manner, were comprized in respectful terms; void of flattery, but not indecent; unceremos nious, but not uncivil." There is no account of their being in the number of the congratulatory addresses on the accession of James. Their first application to him was to recommend their suffering friends to his elemency. At the death of Charles, notwithstanding that petition upon petition had been presented to him for relief, one thousand and five hundred of this society were in prison on various prosecutions. "So that a people paying a strict "regard to truth could hardly term him their good friend." The above address was sirst published by Eachard, from whom it should seem Mr. Neal took it, trusting probably to the exactness of his reference; if he did quote Sewel for it. Hume and others have since published it. Gough's History of the Quakers, vol. iii. p. 160, 61. Ed.

^{*} Burnet, vol. iii. p. 29, Edin. edition.

[†] Oates was whipped a fecond time, while his back was most miserably swelled with his first whipping, and looked as if it had been slead. He was a man of undaunted resolution, and endured what would have killed a

who had invented the meal-tub plot, for which he declared he had received money from the duke of York, was indicted for a libel, and was fined five hundred pounds. He was also fentenced to be pilloried, and whipped from Newgate to Tyburn, and in his return home was murdered in the coach by one Frances a barrister at law, who was afterwards hanged for it. The whigs, who went to court to pay their duty to the king, were received but coldly; some were reproached, and others denied access, especially those who had distinguished themselves for the bill of exclusion.* In the election

great many others. He was, in his religious profession, a mere Proteus, but appears to have been uniformly capable of villainy. His first education was at Merchant-Taylor's school; from whence he removed to Cambridge. When he left that university he gained orders in the church of England, and after having officiated for a time as curate to his father, he held a vicarage first in Kent and then in Sussex. But previously to this, he was, in his youth, a member of a baptist church in Virginia-street, Ratcliffe-Highway. In 1677 he reconciled himself to the church of Rome, and is reported to have entered into the society of Jesuits. After having left the whole body of diffenters for thirty years, he applied to be again admitted into the communion of the baptists, having first returned to the church of England, and continued in it about fixteen years. The baptifis, through a prudent jealoufy of him, spent almost three years in trial of his sincerity, before they received him again: so that he complained it " was keeping " him on the rack; it was worse than death in his circumstances to be so "long delayed." He was restored to their communion in 1698 or 1699, but in less than a year was again excluded as a disorderly person and a bypocrite. He then became a conformist again. "He was a man of some "cunning," fays Granger, "mere effrontery, and the most consummate falsehood." At one time he was a frequent auditor of Mr. Alsop at Westminster, after the revolution: and moved for leave to come to the Lord's table, but was refused on account of his character. Crosby has detailed a long story of a villainous transaction, to ruin a gentleman, to which he was instigated by the spirit of revenge. Dr. Calamy says, "that he was but a very forry soul-mouthed wretch, I myself can attest from what I once " heard from him, when I was in his company." The parliament after the revolution, left him under a brand, and incapacitated him for being a witness in future. But a pension of 400l. a year was given him by king William. "The æra of Oates's plot," remarks Mr. Granger, "was the grand æra of "whig and tory." Whatever infamy rests upon his name, he was, observes Dr. Calamy, the instrument of providence of good to this nation by awakening it out of sleep, and giving a turn to the national affairs after a lethargy of some years. Calamy's Histor. Account of his own life, vol. i. p. 98, 99. Granger's History of England, vol. iv. p. 201, 349; and Crosby's History of the Baptists, vol. iii. p. 166-182. ED.

[·] Burnet, vol. iii. p. 12, 13, Edin. edition.

of a new parliament, all methods of corruption and violence were used to get such members returned as might be supple to the king's arbitrary designs.* When the houses met, May 22, the king repeated what he had declared in council, that he would preserve the government in church and state as by law established. Which, Rapin says, he never intended; for he infinuated in his speech, that he would not depend on the precarious aids of parliament, nor meet them often, if they did not use him well.† But the parliament unanimously settled all the revenues of his late majesty upon the king for life, which amounted to more than two millions a year; and presented an address May 27, to desire him to issue forth his royal proclamation, to cause the penal laws to be put in execution against dissenters from the church of England.

This brought down the storm, and revived the persecution, which had slackened a little upon the late king's death. His majesty was now encouraged to pursue his brother's measures. The tories, who adhered firmly to the prerogative, were gratisted with full licence to distress the dissenters, who were to be sacrificed over again to a bigotted clergy, and an incensed king, zealous for their destruction, (says bishop Kennet) in order to unite and increase the strength of popery, which he savoured without reserve. Upon this, all meeting-houses of protestant dissenters were shut up, the old trade of informing revived and slourished; the spiritual courts were crouded with business; private conventicles were disturbed in all parts of the city and country. If they surprized the minister, he was pulled out of his pulpit by constables or soldiers, and, together with his people, carried before a con-

^{*} Dr. Grey quotes here Eachard and Carte, to prove that the new parliament confished of as many worthy and great, rich and wise men, as ever sat in the house. Ep. + Gazette, No. 2036.

t "The commons, charmed with these promises, and bigotted as much to their principles of government as the king was to his religion, in about two hours voted him such an immense revenue for life, as enabled him to maintain a sleet and army without the aid of parliament, and consequently to subdue those who should dare to oppose his will. In this manner, and without any further ceremony, did this house of commons deliver up the liberties of the nation to a popish arbitrary prince." Warner's Eccles. History, vol. ii. p. 631. Ed.

" hadst

fiding justice of peace, who obliged them to pay their fines, or dragged them to prison. If the minister escaped, they ranfacked the house from top to bottom; tore down hangings, broke open chambers and closets; entered the rooms of those who were fick; and offered all kinds of rudeness and incivilities to the family, though they met with no manner of opposition or resistance. Shopkeepers were separated from their trades and business; and sometimes wives from their husbands and children; several families were obliged to remove to distant places, to avoid the direful effects of an excommunication from the commons; and great fums of money were levied as forfeitures, which had been earned by honest labour. Differting ministers could neither travel the road, nor appear in publick but in difguife; nay, they were afraid to be feen in the houses of their friends, pursuivants from the spiritual courts being always abroad upon the watch.

One of the first who came into trouble was the reverend Mr. Baxter, who was committed to the King's-bench prison February 28, for some exceptionable paffages in his paraphrase on the new testament, reflecting on the order of diocesan bishops, and the lawfulness of resistance in some possible cases. The passages were in his paraphrase on Matth. v. 19. Mark ix. 39. Mark xi. 31. Mark xii. 38, 39, 40. Luke x. 2. John xi. 57. and Acts xv. 2. They were collected by fir Roger l' Estrange; and a certain eminent clergyman, reported to be Dr. Sh-ck, put into the hands of his enemies, fome accufations from Rom. xiii. that might touch his life, but no use was made of them. Mr. Baxter being ill, moved by his council for time; but Jefferies faid, he would not give him a minute's time to fave his life. Yonder stands Oates in the pillory, (fays he) and if Mr. Baxter stood on the other side, I would fay, two of the greatest rogues in England Good there. He was brought to his trial May 30, but the chief juffice would not admit his council to plead for their client. When Mr. Baxter offered to speak for himself, Jefferies called him a fnivelling, canting presbyterian, and faid, " Richard, Ri-" chard, don't thou think we will hear thee poison the court. " Richard, thou art an old fellow, and an old knave; thou " haft written books enough to load a cart, every one as full of fedition, I might fay of treason, as an egg is full of meat:

" hadft thou been whipt out of thy writing trade forty " years ago, it had been happy. Thou pretendent to be a " preacher of the gospel of peace; as thou hast one foot in "the grave 'tis time for thee to begin to think what ac-" count thou intendest to give; but leave thee to thyself, and "I fee thou wilt go on as thou hast begun, but by the grace " of God, I will look after thee. I know thou haft a mighty " party, and I fee a great many of the brotherhood in cor-" ners, waiting to fee what will become of their mighty don, " and a doctor of the party [doctor Bates] at your elbow, " but by the grace of Almighty God, I will crush you all." The chief justice having directed the jury, they found him guilty, without going from the bar, and fined him five hundred marks, to lay in prison till he paid it, and be bound to his good behaviour for feven years. Mr. Baxter continued in prison* about two years, and when the court changed its measures, his fine was remitted, and he was released.

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^{*}Dr. Grey has given us, with apparent approbation, what he calls a characterifical Epitaph, drawn up for Mr. Baxter by the Rev. Thomas Long, prebendary of Exeter. It shews what different colours a character can receive according to the dispositions of those who draw the piture; and how obnoxious Mr. Baxter was to some, whose calumnies and consure the reader perhaps will think was true praise. It runs thus: "Hic jacet Richardus "Baxter, theologus armatus, loiolita reformatus, heresiarcha ærianus, schist maticorum antesignanus; cujus pruritus disputandi* peperit, script adi cacoëthes nutrivit, prædicandi zelus intemperatus maturavit ecclesia." scabiem. Qui dissentit ab iis, quibuscum consentit maximó: tum sibi, cum aliis nonconformis præteritis, præsentibus et suturis: regum & episticoporum juratus hossis: ipsumq; rebellium solemne scedus. Qui natus erat per sentuaginta annos, et octoginta libros, ad perturbandas regni respublicas, et ad bis perdendam ecclesiam Anglicanam; magnis ta en excidit ausis. Deo gratias." Grey's Examination, vol. ii. p. 281, note. Ep.

^{* &}quot;These words," fays the author of the article, Baxter, in the Biographia Britannica, are an allusion to sir Henry Wotton's monumental Inscription in "Eton chapel, Hic jacet bujus sentencia primus author, disputandi pruritus ecclesia "rum scabies:" i. e. "Here lies the first author of this opinon; the itch of disputing is the leprofy of the churches." This writer has given the above epitaph in English, thus: "Here lies Richard Baxter, a militant divine, a reformed Jesuit, a "brazen heresiarch, and the chief of schismatics, who se itch of disputing begat, whose humour of writing nourished, and whose intemperate zeal in preaching brought to its utmost height, the leprofy of the church: who distinct from those with whom he most agreed: from himself, as well as all other nonconformists, pass, present, and to come; the sworn enemy of kings and bishops, and in himself the very bond of rebels: who was born, through seventy years and eighty books, to disturb the peace of the kingdom, and twice to attempt the

The rebellion of the duke of Monmouth furnished the court with a plaufible handle to carry the profecution of the whigs and diffenters to a further extremity. There was a considerable number of English fugitives in Holland at this time, fome on political accounts, and others on the fcore of religion. The king, being apprehensive of danger from thence, obliged the prince of Orange to difmiss the duke of Monmouth from his court, and to break all those officers who had waited upon him, and who were in his fervice; this precipitated the counsels of the malecontents, and made them refolve upon a rash and ill-concerted invasion, which proved their ruin. The earl of Argyle, imagining all the fcots prefbyterians would revolt, failed to the north of Scotland with a very small force, and was defeated with the effusion of very little blood, before the declaration* which he brought with him could have any effect. After him the duke of Monmouth, with the like precipitate rashness, landed June 11 with an inconsiderable force at Lyme in Dorsetshire; and though he was joined by great numbers in the West country, he was defeated by the king's forces, made prisoner, and executed on Tower-hill; as was the earl of Argyle at Edinburgh.

Though the body of the differers were not concerned in either of these invasions, they suffered considerably on this occasion. Great numbers of their chief merchants and tradefmen in the city, being taken up by warrants, and secured in gaols, and in the publick halls; as were many country whig gentlemen, in York castle, Hull, and the prisons in all parts of England, which had this good effect, that it kept them out

[•] A full view of the affertions and purport of the duke of Monmouth's manifesto is given in my History of the Town of Taunton, p. 133-135. It was fecretly printed in a private house hired for that purpose at Lambeth by W. C. a man of good sense and spirit, and a stationer in Pater-noster-row; who imported the paper. His assistant at the press was apprehended and suffered: he himself escaped into Holland, and absconded in Germany, 'till he came over with the prince of Orange, who, when he was settled on the throne, appointed him his stationer. William Disney, esq; was tried by a special commission upon an indistance of high treason, for printing and publishing this declaration, and was convicted, and sentenced to be drawn, hanged and quartered. Dr. Grey's Examination, vol. iii. p. 403, 4. Ed.

[&]quot; ruin of the church of England: in the endeavour of which mighty mischiefs he fell short. For which thanks be to God." Biogr. Britan. vol. ii. p. 18, second edition. ED.

of harm's way, while many of their friends were ruined by ioining the duke; some from a persuasion that the late king was married to his mother; and others in hopes of a deli-

verance from popery and arbitrary power.

The king, elated with fuccess, resolved to let both whigs and diffenters feel the weight of the arm of a conqueror: his army lived upon free-quarters in the west, and treated all who were supposed to be disaffected, with great rudeness and violence.* Some days after Monmouth's defeat, colonel Kirk ordered several of the prisoners to be hung up at Taunton, without any trial or form of law, while he and his company were dancing, revelling, and drinking healths at a neighbouring window, with a variety of music, from whence they beheld, with a more than brutish triumph, the dreadful spectacle. The gaols being full of prisoners, the king appointed lord chief justice Jefferies to go the western circuit, whose cruel behaviour surpassed all that had been ever heard of in a civilized nation: he was always drunk, either with wine or vengeance. When the juries found perfons not guilty, he threatened and confined them, till they brought in a verdict to his mind, as in the case of the old lady Liste, who was beheaded, for admitting Mr. Hicks, a non-conformist minister, into her house, though the jury brought her in three times not guilty; and she solemnly declared, that she knew not that he had been in the duke's army. He perfuaded many of the prisoners to plead guilty, in hopes of favour, and then taking advantage of their confession, ordered their immediate execution, without giving them a minute's time to fay their prayers. Mr. Tutchin, who wrote the Observator, was sentenced to be imprisoned seven years, and to be whipped once every year through all the towns in Dorfetshire; upon which he petitioned the king that he might be hanged. + Bishop Burnet fays, that in feveral places in the west, there were executed near fix hundred persons, and that the quarters of two or three hundred were fixed upon gibbets, and hung upon trees all over the country for fifty or fixty miles about, to the terror and even annoyance of travellers. The manner in which he treated the prisoners, was barbarous and in-

Burnet, vol. iii. p. 43, Edin. edition.

+ Bennet's Memoirs, p. 374, 5, fecond edit.

human;

human; and his behaviour towards some of the nobility and gentry who were well affected, but appeared to the character of some of the criminals, would have amazed one (says bishop Burnet) if done by a bashaw in Turkey. The king had advice of his proceedings every day, and spoke of it in a stile neither becoming the majesty nor mercy of a great prince.* And Jefferies, besides satiating himself with blood, got great sums of money, by selling pardons to such as were able to purchase them, from ten pounds to sourceen thousand guineas

a-piece.

After the executions in the west, the king, being in the height of his power, refolved to be revenged of his old enemies the whigs, by making examples of their chief leaders: alderman Cornish, who had fignalized himself in prosecuting the popish plot, and was frequently in company with the late lord Ruffel, was taken off the Exchange October 13, and within little more than a week tried, condemned, and executed in Cheapfide, for high treason, without any tolerable evidence, and his quarters fet upon Guildhall. On the same day Mrs. Gaunt a diffenter, who spent a great part of her life in acts of charity, vifiting the gaols, and looking after the poor of what perfuasion soever, having entertained Burton, one of Monmouth's men in her house, he, by an unheard-of baseness, while she was looking out for an opportunity to fend him out of the kingdom, went out and accused her for harbouring him, and by that means faved his own life by taking away hers: she was burnt alive at Tyburn, and died with great resolution and devotion. t. Mr. Bateman a furgeon, Mr. Roufe, Mr. Ferneley, Col. Aploffe, Mr. Nelthorpe, and others, fuffered in like manner. Lord Stamford was admitted to bail, and lord Delamere was tried by his peers, and acquitted. Many who had corresponded with the duke of Monmouth absconded, and had proclamations against them, as John Trenchard, efg; Mr. Speke, and others. But all who fuffered in this cause expressed such a zoal for the

protestant

^{*} Bennet's Mem. p. 44, fecond edit.

[†] The reader is referred to the "History of the Town of Taunton" for an ample account of the progress and defeat of the duke of Monmouth, and a minute detail of the subsequent severities of Kirk and Jefferies, p. 135—170.

Edit.

Burnet, p. 45.

protestant religion, which they apprehended in danger, as made great impressions on the spectators. Some say the king was hurried on by Jefferies; but if his own inclinations had not run strong the same way, and if his priests had not thought it their interest to take off so many active protestants, who opposed their measures, they would not have let that butcher loose (says Burnet) to commit so many barbarous acts of cruelty, as struck an universal horror over the body of the nation. It was a bloody summer, and a dangerous time for honest men to live in.

When the king met his parliament Nov. 9, he congratulated them on the success of his arms; but told them, that, in order to prevent any new diffurbances, he was determined to keep the prefent army together; and " let no man (fays " his majesty) take exceptions that some officers are not " qualified, for they are most of them known to me for the " loyalty of their principles and practices; and therefore to " deal plainly with you, after having had the benefit of their " fervices in a time of need and danger, I will neither expose "them to difgrace, nor myfelf to the want of them "" Thus we were to have a standing army under popish officers, in defiance of the penal laws and test. The commons would have given them an act of indemnity for what was past, but the king would not accept it; and because the house was not disposed to his dispensing power, he prorogued then Nov. 20, when they had fat only eleven days; and after many fuccessive prorogations, in the space of two years, dissolved them.+

The profecution of the differers, which was carried on with all imaginable severity this and the largear, forced some of their ministers into the church; but it had a different and more surprising insluence upon others, who had the courage, in these difficult times, to renounce the church as a persecuting establishment, and to take their lot among the non-conformists; as the reverend Mr. John Spademan, M. A. of Swayton in Lincolnshire; Mr. John Rastrick, vicar of Kirton near Boston; Mr. Burroughs of Frampton; Mr. Scoffin of Brotherton; Mr. Quip of Moreton; and a few others; who

^{*} Gazette, No. 2085. + Burnet, p. 70, 71.

[‡] Calamy's Abridgment, p. 460, &c.

could be influenced by no other principle but conscience in a cause which had nothing in this world to recommend it but truth, attended with bonds and imprisonment, and the loss of all things.

Great were the oppressions of those who frequented the separate meetings in several counties; the informers broke in upon fir John Hartoppe, Mr. Fleetwood, and others, at Stoke-Newington, to levy diffresses for conventicles, to the value of fix or feven thousand pounds: the like at Enfield, Hackney, and all the neighbouring villages near London.* justices and confiding clergy were equally diligent in their feveral parishes. Injunctions were fent out from several of the bishops, under the seal of their offices, requiring all churchwardens to present such as did not repair to church, nor receive the facrament at Easter; which were read publickly in the churches of Hertfordshire, Essex, &c. And the juries at the affizes gave it as their opinion, that the different should be effectually profecuted; but the scandalous villanies and perjuries of the informers made wife men abhor the trade; however, so terrible were the times, that many families and ministers removed with their effects to New-England, and other plantations in America; among whom we may reckon the reverend and worthy Mr. Samuel Lee, the ejected minister of Bishopsgate, who in his return to his flock, after the revolution, was made prisoner by the French, and carried to St. Maloes, where he perished in a dungeon, under the hands of those whose tender mercies are cruel. + Many ministers were fined and imprisoned, and great numbers of their most Substantial hearers cited into the commons, their names being fixed upon the doors of their parish churches; and if they did not appear, an excommunication and a capias followed, unless they found means, by prefents of wine, by gold in the fingers of a pair of gloves, or some effectual bribe, to get themselves excused; for which, among others, the name of Dr. Pinfold is famous to this day.

^{*} Calamy, p. 372, 373; or Palmer's Non-conformist's Memorial, vol. ii. p. 163-168.

⁺ Palmer's Non-con. Mem. vol. i. p. 95, 6.

[†] Dr. Pinfold was a gentleman of the long robe, and was the king's advocate in the profecution of bishop Compton. But though he stood at the chancellor's

The differences continued to take the most prudent measures to cover their private meetings from their adversaries. They affembled in small numbers—they frequently shifted their places of worship, and met together late in the evenings, or early in the mornings—there were friends without doors. always on the watch to give notice of approaching danger when the dwellings of diffenters joined, they made windows or holes in the walls, that the preacher's voice might be heard in two or three houses—they had sometimes private pasfages from one house to another, and trap doors for the escape of the minister, who went always in disguise, except when he was discharging his office-in country-towns and villages they were admitted through back yards and gardens into the house, to avoid the observation of neighbours and passengers —for the fame reason they never sung psalms—and the minifter was placed in fuch an inward part of the house, that his voice might not be heard in the streets—the doors were always locked, and a centinel placed near them to give the alarm, that the preacher might escape by some private passage, with as many of the congregation as could avoid the informers. But notwithstanding all their precautions, spies and false brethren crept in among them in disguise, their affemblies were frequently interrupted, and great fums of money raifed by fines or compositions, to the discouragement of trade and industry, and enriching the officers of the spiritual courts.

Thus were the non-conformists ground between the papists on the one hand, and the high church clergy on the other; while the former made their advantage of the latter, concluding, that when the dissenters were destroyed, or thoroughly exasperated, and the clergy divided among themselves, they should be a match for the hierarchy, and capable of establishing that religion, they had been so long aiming to introduce. With this view, swarms of jesuits and regular priests were sent for from abroad; jesuits' schools, and other seminaries, were opened in London and the country; mass-houses were erected in the most considerable towns; four Roman catholic bishops were consecrated in the royal chapel, and exercised their functions under the character of vicars apos-

chancellor's elbow and took notes, while the bishop's council were pleading, he said nothing by way of reply. Bp. Compton's Life, p. 37. Ep.

tolical;

tolical; their regular clergy appeared at Whitehall and St. James's in their habits, and were unwearied in their attempts to seduce the common people. The way to preferment was to be a catholic, or to declare for the prerogative; all state affairs being managed by such men. An open correspondence was held with Rome, and many pamphlets were dispersed, to make proselytes to the Romish faith, or at least to effect a coalition. Multitudes of the king's subjects frequented the popish chapels; some changed their prosession; and all men were forbid to speak disrespectfully of the king's religion.

At length the eyes of many of the clergy began to be opened, and they judged it necessary to preach against the popilb doctrines, that they might recover the people who were deferting in numbers, and rescue the protestant religion from the danger into which their own follies had brought it. The king being acquainted with this, by the advice of his priefts, fent circular letters to the bishops, with an order, prohibiting the inferior clergy from preaching on the controverted points of religion; which many complained of, though it was no more than king James and Charles I. had done before. However, when their mouths were stopped in the pulpit, some of the most learned and zealous agreed to fight the catholics with their own weapons, and to publish small pamphlets for the benefit of the vulgar, in defence of the protestant doctrines. When a popish pamphlet was in the press, they made interest with the workmen, and got the sheets as they were wrought off, fo that an answer was ready as soon as the pamphlet was published. There was hardly a week, in which some sermon or fmall treatife against popery, was not printed and dispersed among the common people, which, in the compass of a year or two, produced a valuable fet of controverfial writings against the errors of that church.* The chief writers were Dr. Tillotson, Stilling fleet, Tenison, Patrick, Wake, Whitby, Sharp, Atterbury, Williams, Aldrich, Burnet, Fowler, &c.+

^{*} A vast collection of these pieces was published about fifty years ago, in three volumes solio, under the direction of Dr. Gibson bishop of London. But this contained only a part of the tracts written by the protestants: and even the catalogues of them drawn up by Dr. Wake, Dr. Gee, and Mr. Francis Peck, were desective in the titles of them. Birch's Life of Archbp. Tillotson, p. 127. Ed.

men of great name and renown, who gained immortal honour, and were afterwards advanced to the highest dignities in the church. Never was a bad cause more weakly managed by the papists, nor a more compleat victory obtained by the

protestants.

But the church party, not content with their triumph, bave of late censured the non-conformists, for appearing only as spectators, and not joining them in the combat.* But how could the clergy expect this from a fet of men whom they had been perfecuting for above twenty years, and who had the yoke of oppression still lying on their necks? Had not the non-conformists been beforehand with them in their morning exercises against popery? And did not Dr. Owen, Mr. Pool, Baxter, Clarkson, and others, write against the errors of the church of Rome, throughout the whole reign of king Charles II? Had not the non-conformists stood in the gap, and exposed themselves sufficiently to the resentments of the papists, for refusing to come into their measures for an universal toleration. in which they might have been included? Besides, the poor ministers were hardly crept out of corners, their papers had been rifled, and their books fold or fecreted, to avoid feizure: they had little time to fludy, and therefore might not be fo well prepared for the argument, as those who had lived in ease and security. Farther, the church party was most nearly concerned, the non-conformists having nothing to lofe, whereas all the emoluments of the church were at stake; and after all, some of the diffenters did write; and, if we may believe Dr. Calamy, Mr. Baxter, and others, their tracts being thought too warm, were refused to be licensed. + Upon the whole.

* Calamy, p. 373; and Pierce's Vindication, p. 266.

[†] A licence was refused to a discourse against the whole system of popery, drawn up by the learned Mr. Jonaiban Hanner, who was ejected from Bishop's-Tawton in Devon. A discourse against transubstantiation, written by Mr. Henry Pendlebury, ejected from Holcomb chapel in Lancashire, and afterwards published by Arch. Tillotson, met with the like resusal. An offer that Mr. Baxter would produce a piece against popery every month, if a licence might be had, was rejected with scorn. And Mr. Jane, the bishop of London's chaplain, denied his sanction to a piece he actually drew up on the church's visibility. But in opposition to what Mr. Neal says above concerning this point, Dr. Grey, it is but justice to observe, gives us letters from

whole, bishop Burnet wisely observes, that as the dissenters would not engage on the side of popery and the prerogative, nor appear for taking off the tests in the present circumstances; so, on the other hand, they were unwilling to provoke the king, who had lately given them hopes of liberty, lest he should make up matters upon any terms with the church party, at their expence; nor would they provoke the church party, or by any ill behaviour drive them into a reconciliation with the court; therefore they resolved to let the points of controversy alone, and leave them to the management of the clergy, who had a legal bottom to support them.

The clergy's writing thus warmly against popery broke all measures between the king and the church of England, and made each party court that body of men for their auxiliaries, whom they had been persecuting and destroying for so many years. His majesty now resolved to introduce an universal toleration in despite of the church, and at their expence.† The cruelty of the church of England was his common subject of discourse; he reproached them for their violent persecutions of the dissenters, and said he had intended to set on foot a toleration sooner, but that he was restrained by some of them who had treated with him, and had undertaken to shew savour to the papists, provided they might be

Dr. Isham, Dr. Alston, Dr. Batteley, and Mr. Needbam, licensers of the press, declaring that they never refused to license a book, because written by a dissenter; and that they did not recollect that any tract, of which a dissenter was the author, was brought to them for their fanction. As to Mr. Baxter, in particularly Dr. Isham avers, that he never obstructed his writing against popery, but licensed one of his books: "and if he had prepared any thing against the common enemy," says Dr. Isham, "without striking obliquely at our church, I would certainly have forwarded them from the press." It is to be added, that one piece from the pen of Mr. Hanmer had the imprimatur of Dr. Jane. These authorities appear to contradict each other: but it is, probably, not only a candid, but just method of reconciling them, and preserving our opinion of the veracity of both parties, that the tracts to which a licence was refused, were not offered to the gentlemen whose letters Dr. Grey quotes; but to Dr. Jane, or other licensers, with whose declarations we are not furnished. Bennet's Memorial, p. 399, 400, second edit. Baxter's History of his own Life, part III. p. 183, solio. Palmer's Nonconformist's Memorial, vol. i. p. 342. Dr. Grey, vol. ii. p. 424—432. The matter was, I understand, discussed by Mr. Tong, in his defence of Mr. Henry's Notion of Schisin. Ed.

^{*} P. 121, 122. † Burnet, p. 140.

still suffered to vex the dissenters; and he named the very men, though they thought fit afterwards to deny it: how far the

fact is probable must be left with the reader.

It being thought impracticable to obtain a legal toleration in the present circumstances of the nation, his majesty determined to attempt it by the difpenfing power; for this purpose fir Edward Hales, a popish gentleman of Kent, was brought to trial for breaking through the test act, when fir Edward Herbert, lord chief justice, gave judgment in his favour, and declared the powers of the crown to be absolute.* The other judges were closeted, and such displaced as were of a different fentiment; and the king being refolved to have twelve judges of his own opinion,+ four had their quietus, and as many new ones were advanced, from whom the king exacted a promife to support the prerogative in all its branches. There was a new call of serjeants, who gave rings with this motto, DEUS, REX, LEX, God, the king, and the law; the king being placed before the law. The privy council was new modelled, and feveral declared papifts admitted into it; two confiding clergymen were promoted to bishopricks. Parker to Oxford, and Cartwright to Cheiter. Many pamphlets were written and dispersed in favour of liberty of conscience; and sir Roger L' Estrange, with other mercenary writers, were employed to maintain, that a power in the king to difpense with the laws, is law. 1 But the opinion of private writers not being thought sufficient, it was resolved to have the determination of the judges, who all (except one) gave it as their opinion; 1. That the laws of England were the king's laws. . 2. That it is an inseparable branch of the prerogative of the kings of England, as of all other sovereign princes, to dispense with all

^{*} Burnet, p. 73, 4.

[†] Lord chief justice Jones, one of the displaced judges, upon his dismission, observed to the king, "That he was by no means forry that he was laid "aside, old and worn out as he was in his service; but concerned that his "majesty should expect such a construction of the law from him as he could not honestly give; and that none but indigent, ignorant, or ambitious men would give their judgment as he expected." To this the king replied, "It was necessary his judges should be all of one mind." Memoirs of sir John Reresby, p. 233. Ed.

[‡] Welwood's Memoirs, p. 194.

penal laws in particular cases, and on particular occasions.
3. That of these reasons and necessity the king is sole judge.
4. That this is not a trust now invested in, and granted to the present king, but the antient remains of the sovereign power of the kings of England, which was never yet taken from them, nor can be. Thus the laws of England were given up at once into the hands of the king, by a solemn determination of the judges.

of the judges. This point being fecured, his majefty began to carefs the non-conformists. " All on a sudden (fays bishop Burnet*) "the churchmen were difgraced, and the diffenters in high " favour. Lord chief justice Herbert went the Western cir-" cuit after Jefferies, who was now made lord chancellor, " and all was grace and favour to them: their former fuffer-"ings were much reflected upon and pitied; every thing " was offered that might alleviate them; their ministers were " encouraged to fet up their conventicles, which had been "discontinued, or held very secretly for four or five years; " intimations were given every where, that the king would " not have them or their meetings disturbed." + A difpenfation, or licence office was fet up, where all who applied might have an indulgence, paying only fifty shillings, for themselves and their families. Many who had been profecuted for conventicles, took out those licences, which not only stopped all processes that were commenced, but gave them liberty to go publickly to meetings for the future. " Upon "this (fays the fame reverend prelate) fome of the diffentes e grew infolent, but wifer men among them perceived the " defign of the papilts was now to fet on the diffenters against " the church, and therefore, though they returned to their " conventicles, yet they had a just jealousy of the ill designs " that lay hid, under all this fudden and unexpected fnew of

- * Page 78.

[†] King James, previously to his adopting of these conciliating measures with the diffenters, such was his art and duplicity, had tried all the methods he could think of to bring the church into his designs: and twice offered, it was said, to make a facrisce of all the dissenters in the kingdom to them, if they would but have complied with him: but failing in this attempt, he faced about to the non-conformists. Calamy's History of his own Life, vol. i. p. 170, MS. ED.

"grace and kindness, and they took care not to provoke the "church party." But where then were the understandings of the high church clergy, during the whole reign of king Charles II. while they were pursuing the non-conformists and their families to destruction, for a long course of years? Did they not perceive the design of the papists? Or were they not willing rather to court them, at the expence of the whole body of dissenting protestants? Bishop Laud's scheme of uniting with the papists, and meeting them half way, was never out of their sight; however, when the reader calls to mind the oppression and cruelties that the conscientious non-conformists underwent from the high church party for twenty-sive years, he will be ready to conclude they deserved no regard, if the protestant religion itself had not been at stake.

Thus the allwife providence of God put a period to the profecution of the protestant dissenters from the penal laws, though the laws themselves were not legally repealed, or suspended, till after the revolution of king William and queen Mary. It may not therefore be improper to give the reader a summary view of their usage in this and the last reign, and of the damages they sustained in their persons, families, and

fortunes.

The QUAKERS, in their petition to king James* the last year, inform his majesty, that of late above one thousand five hundred of their friends were in prison, both men and women; and that now there remain one thousand three hundred eighty-three, of which two hundred are women; many under sentence of pramunire; and more than three hundred near it, for refusing the oath of allegiance because they could not swear. —Above three hundred and fifty have died in prison since the year 1660, near one hundred of which since the year 1680.—In London, the gaol of Newgate has been crouded within these two years, sometimes with near

^{*} It was addressed not to king James only, but to both houses of parliament. They made also an application to the king alone; recommending to his princely elemency the case of their suffering friends. Sewel, p. 592. This was not so copious a state of their case as the petition to which Mr. Neal refers, and is called by Gough their first address. Vol. iii. p. 162; and the Index under the word Address. Ed.

twenty in a room, whereby feveral have been fuffocated, and others, who have been taken out fick, have died of malignant fevers within a few days; -great violences, outrageous distresses, and woeful havock and spoil have been made on people's goods and estates, by a company of idle, extravagant, and merciles informers, by profecutions on the conventicle act, and others, as may be feen in the margin.* Also on qui tam writs, and on other processes, for twenty pounds a month; and two-thirds of their estates seized for the king: -fome had not a bed left to rest upon; others had no cattle to till the ground, nor corn for feed or bread, nor tools to work with: the faid informers and bailiffs in some places breaking into houses, and making great waste and spoil, under pretence of ferving the king and the church.—Our religious affemblies have been charged at common law with being riotous routs, and disturbances of the peace, whereby great numbers have been confined in prisons, without regard to age or fex; and many in holes and dungeons:-the feizures for twenty pounds a month have amounted to feveral thousand pounds; sometimes they have seized for eleven months at once, and made fale of all goods and chattels both within doors and without, for payment:-feveral who have employed some hundreds of poor families in manufacture, are by those writs and seizures disabled, as well as by long imprisonment; one in particular, who employed two hundred people in the woollen manufacture. - Many informers, and especially impudent women, whose husbands are in prison,

* The acts of penal laws on which they fuffered were these:

Some few fuffered on 27 Henry VIII. cap. 20.

Others on 1 Eliz. cap. 2, for twelve-pence a Sunday.

5 Eliz. cap. 23, De excommu. capiendo.

23 Eliz. cap. 1, for 20l. a month.

29 Eliz. cap. 6, for more speedy and due execution of last statute.

35 Eliz. cap. 1, for abjuring the realm on pain of death.

3 King James I. cap. 4, for better discovering and suppressing popish recusants.

13th and 14th of king Charles II. against quakers, &c. transportation.

17 Charles II. cap. 2, against non-conformists.

22 King Charles II. cap. 1, against seditious conventicles.

N. B. The quakers were not much affected with the corporation and test a.7s, because they would not take an oath;

Nor with the Oxford five-mile act, which cut the others to pieces.

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fwear for their share of the profit of the seizures—the sines upon one justice's warrant have amounted to many hundred pounds; frequently en pounds a warrant, and sive warrants together for sifty pounds to one man; and for non-payment, all his goods carried away in about ten cart loads. They spare neither widows, nor fatherless, nor poor families; nor leave them so much as a bed to lie upon:—thus the informers are both witnesses and parties, to the ruin of great numbers of sober families; and justices of peace have been threatened with the forfeiture of one hundred pounds, if they do not issue out warrants upon their informations.—With this petition, they presented to the king and parliament a list of their friends in prison in the several counties, amounting to one thousand four hundred and sixty.

But it is impossible to make an exact computation of the number of sufferers, or estimate of the damages his majesty's dissenting subjects of the several denominations sustained, by the profecutions of this and the last reign; how many families were impoverished, and reduced to beggary; how many lives were lost in prisons and noisome gaols; how many ministers were divorced from their people, and forced to live as they could, five miles from a corporation: how many industrious and laborious tradesmen were cut off from their trades; and their substance and household goods plundered by soldiers, or divided among idle and infamous informers. The vexatious suits of the commons, and the expences of those courts, were immense.

The writer of the preface of Mr. Delaune's plea for the non-conformists, says,* that Delaune was one of near eight thousand protestant dissenters, who had perished in prison in the reign of king Charles II. and that merely for dissenting from the church in some points, which they were able to give good reason for; and yet for no other cause, (says he) were they stifled, I had almost said, murdered in gaols.—As for the severe penalties inslicted on them, for seditious and riotous assemblies, designed only for the worship of God, he adds, that they suffered in their trades and estates, within the compass of three years, at least two millions; and doubts, whether in all

^{*} Preface to Delaune's Plea, p. 5.

Mary, there can be produced any thing like fuch a number of christians who have suffered death; and such numbers who have loft their substance for religion. Another writer adds,* that Mr. Jeremy White had carefully collected a list of the diffenting sufferers, and of their sufferings; and had the names of fixty thousand persons who had suffered on a religious account, between the restoration of king Charles II. and the revolution of king William; five thousand of whom died in prison. That Mr. White told lord Dorfet, that king James had offered him a thousand guineas for the manuscript, but that he refused all invitations and rewards, and concealed the black record, that it might not appear to the difreputation of the church of England, for which some of the clergy fent him their thanks, and offered him an acknowledgment, which he generously refused. The reader will form his own judgment of the truth of these facts. It is certain, that besides those who suffered in their own country, great numbers retired to the plantations of New-England, Pennsylvania, and other parts of America. Many transported themselves and their effects into Holland,+ and filled the English churches of Amsterdam, the Hague, Utrecht, Leyden, Rotterdam, and other parts. If we admit the diffenting families of the feveral denominations in England, to be one hundred and fifty thousand, and that each family suffered no more than the loss of three or four pounds per annum, from the act of uniformity, the whole will amount to twelve or fourteen millions; a prodigious fum for those times! But these are only conjectures; the damage to the trade and property of the nation was undoubtedly immenfe; and the wounds that were made in the estates of private families were deep and

* History of the Stuarts, p. 715.

[†] Among these were Mr. Howe, Mr. Shower, Mr. Nat. Taylor, Mr. Papillon, sir John Thompson, (afterwards lord Haversham) sir John Guise, and sir Patience Ward. The States of Holland treated the English Refugees with particular respect. But as it has been pertinently observed, it was a reproach to this nation, that, in particular, so excellent a person as Mr. Howe, whose unaffected piety, polite and prosound learning, and most sweet, ingenious and genteel temper, entitled him to the esteem of the greatest and best men in the land of all persuasions; that such a one at that time could not have a safe and quiet habitation in his native country. Tong's Life of Shower, p. 51. Ed.

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large; many of whom, to my certain knowledge, wear the

fcars of them to this day.

When the protestant dissenters rose up into publick view as a distinct body, their long sufferings had not very much diminished their numbers, which, though not to be compared with those of the establishment, or the tories and roman catholics, were yet so considerable, as to be capable of turning the scale on either side, according as they should throw in their weight, which might possibly be owing, amongst others, to the following reasons:

1. To their firmness and constancy in a long course of suffering, which convinced the world, that they were not actuated

by humour, but conscience.

2. To their doctrine and manner of preaching, which was plain and practical, accompanied with a warm and awakening address to the conscience. Their doctrines were those of the first reformers, which were grown out of fashion in the church; and their way of worship was simple and plain; without the ornament of rites and ceremonies.

3. To the feverity of their morals, at a time when the nation was funk into all kinds of vice and luxury, from which they preferved themselves in a great measure untainted. Their conversation was sober and virtuous. They observed the Lord's day with religious strictness, and had an universal reputation for justice and integrity in their dealings.

4. To the careful and strict education of their children, whom they impressed with an early sense of scriptural religion, and educated in their own way, as they had opportunity, under private school-masters of their own principles.

5. To a concern for a fuccession of able and learned ministers; for which purpose they encouraged private academies in several parts of the kingdom; and it is remarkable that many gentlemen and substantial citizens devoted their children to the ministry, at a time when they had nothing in

view but worldly discouragements.

6. To the persecuting zeal of the high church party, attended with an uncommon licentiousness of manners. If their zeal against the nonconformists had produced a greater sanctity of life, and severity of morals, amongst themselves, it had been less offensive; but to see men destitute of

common

fober people.

Finally, To the spirit and principles of torism, which began to appear ruinous to the nation. The old English constitution was in a manner lost, while the church and prerogative had been trampling on the dissenters, who had stood firm to it for twenty years, in the midst of reproaches and sufferings. This was the consequence of tory measures; and popery being now coming in at the gap they had made, the most resolved protestants saw their error, entertained a favourable opinion of the dissenters, and many of them joined their congregations.

To return to the history. The diffenters being now easy, it was resolved to turn the artillery of the prerogative against the church, and make them feel a little of the fmart they had given others; the king and his priefts were thoroughly enraged with their opposition to the court, and therefore appointed commissioners throughout England to enquire, what money had been raised? or what goods had been seized by distress on dissenters, on prosecutions for recusancy, and not brought to account in the Exchequer? In the Gazette of March 5, 1687, it is advertised, that the commissioners appointed to examine into the losses of the dissenters and recufants, within the feveral counties of Gloucester, Worcester, and Monmouth, were to hold their sessions for the faid counties, at the places therein mentioned. Others were appointed for the counties of Middlefex, Effex, &c. to enquire what money or goods had been taken or received for any matters relating to religion fince Sept. 29, 1677, in any of the counties for which they were named. They were to return the names of all persons who had seized goods, or received money. The parties themselves, if alive, were obliged to appear, and give an account; and if dead, their representatives were to appear before the commissioners for them. This struck terror into the whole tribe of informers, the confiding justices, and others who expected now to be ruined;

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ruined; but (fays Dr. Calamy) the protestant diffenters generously refused to appear against their enemies, upon affurances given by leading persons, both clergy and laity, that no fuch methods should be used for the future. Had this enquiry proceeded, and the diffenters univerfally come into it, a black and fraudulent scene would have been opened, which now will be concealed. Bishop Burnet fays, "The 46 king ordered them to enquire into all vexatious suits into "which the diffenters had been brought in the spiritual " courts, and into all the compositions they had been forced "to make to redeem themselves from further trouble. " which, as was faid, would have brought to light a scandalous " discovery of all the ill practices of those courts; for the use "that many who belong to those courts had made of the " laws with relation to differers, was, to draw prefents from " fuch as could make them, threatening them with a process " in case they failed to do that, and upon doing it, leaving "them at full liberty to neglect the laws as much as they " pleafed. The commission subsisted till the revolution, and "it was hoped (fays his lordship) that this would have " animated the diffenters to turn upon the clergy with some " of that fierceness with which they themselves had been " lately treated." But they took no advantage of the disposition of the court, nor of the opportunity that was put into their hands of making reprifals on their adverfaries; which shews the truly generous and christian spirit of those confessors for religion; and deserved a more grateful acknowledgment.

To humble the clergy yet further, his majesty, by the advice of Jefferies, erected a new ecclesiastical commission, though the act which took away the high commission in 1641 had provided, that no court of that nature should be erected for the future; but the king, though a papist, assumed the supremacy, and directed a commission to the archbishop of Canterbury, Jefferies the chancellor, the bishops of Durham and Rochester; to the earl of Sunderland president of the council; Herbert and Wright, lord chief justices, and Jenner recorder of London, or any three of them, provided the chancellor was one, "To exercise all manner of jurisdiction

^{*} Burnet, vol. iii. p. 140, 41, Edinb. edit.

" and pre-eminence, touching any spiritual or ecclesiastical "jurisdictions, to visit, reform, redress, and amend all abuses, offences, contempts and enormities, which by the spiritual or ecclefiaftical laws might be corrected. They were also to enquire into all misdemeanors and contempts which " might be punished by the censures of the church, and to " call before them all ecclefiaftical persons of what degree 44 and dignity foever, and punish the offenders by excom-"munications, fuspensions, deprivations, or other ecclesiss aftical censures, &c."* This was a terrible rod held out to the clergy, and if the commissioners had had time to proceed in their enquiries, according to the mandates fent to the chancellors and archdeacons of the feveral diocefes, they would have felt more of the effects of that arbitrary power which their indifcreet conduct had brought on the nation; but Providence was kinder to them than they had been to their brethren. + The commission was granted the beginning of April, but was not opened till the beginning of August; the archbishop of Canterbury was afraid to act in it: † Durham was fo lifted up, (fays Burnet) that he faid his name would now be recorded in history; and Sprat bishop of Rochester, in hopes of further preferment, swam with the stream. Some Roman catholicks were in the

* Burnet, p. 82. † Welwood, p. 198.

† It is faid, that he took exception at the lawfulness of the commission itself. But then on its being opened, he did not appear and declare against it, as judging it to be against law: contenting himself with not going to it: and it was not at first apprehended that he made a matter of conscience of it. He was of a timorous nature, and cautious of doing any thing that might eventually be prejudicial to his great object, which was to enrich his nephew. Burnet, vol. iii. p. 82, 3. Grey's Examination, vol. iii. p. 405.

§ Though the Bishop of Rockester might, from views to preferment, be induced to act in a commission to which he was, without his knowledge, named: yet he is stated to have acted with integrity in this matter, through his ignorance of the laws, having no objection to the legality of it; with the purpose of doing as much good, and preventing as much evil, as the times would permit. In the execution of it he pleaded, that he had studied to moderate and restrain the violence of others, never giving his consent to any irregular and arbitrary sentence, but declaring against every extravagant decree. His opinions, he said, were always so contrary to the humours of the court, that he often thought himself to be really in as much

commission, and consequently the enemies of the protestant

religion-were to be its judges.

But his majesty, not being willing to rely altogether on the Oxford decree, nor on the fashionable doctrines of passive-obedience and non-resistance, which had been preached up for above twenty years as the unalterable doctrines of the church of England, in order to support his extraordinary proceedings, refolved to augment his standing forces to fifteen thousand men. He was apprehensive of a snake in the grass, or a secret reserve, that might break out when the church itself came to be pinched; he therefore ordered his army to encamp on Hounflow-heath, under the command of the earl of Feversham, to awe the city, and be at hand upon any emergency; the officers and many of the foldiers were Irish papists, and they had a publick chapel in which mass was faid every day, fo that it was believed the king might introduce what religion he pleafed.* It was dangerous to fpeak or write against his majesty's proceedings; for when the reverend Mr. Johnson, a clergyman, ventured to publish a writing, directed to the protestant officers of the army, to diffuade them from being tools of the court to subvert the constitution and protestant religion; diligent search was made for him, and being apprehended, he was fentenced to fland three times in the pillory, to be degraded of his orders, to be whipped from Newgate to Tyburn, and to be fined five hundred marks; all which was executed with great feverity.+

hazard from the commission itself, by his non-compliance, as any of his brethren could be that were out of it. And, at last, rather than concur in the prosecution of such as refused to read the king's declaration, he solemaly took his leave and withdrew from the court. Grey's Examination, vol. iii. p. 405, 6. Ep.

* Gazette, No. 2192.

† Mr. Johnson, previously to his sufferings, was degraded in the chapter-house of St. Paul's on the 22d of November, 1686. He bore the whipping on the 1st of Dec. following with great fortitude. The revolution restored him to his liberty; the degradation was annulled; the judgment given against him was declared illegal and cruel; and a pension of 300l. a year for his own and son's life was granted to him with 1000l. in money, and a place of 100l. a year for his son. His temper, which was haughty, rough and turbulent, rendered his solicitations for a bishoprick, and two addresses of the lords, recommending him to preferment, unsuccessful. He had

Affairs in Scotland were in equal forwardness with those of England; the parliament which met at Edinburgh in May 1685, while the perfecution continued, declared their abhorrence of all principles derogatory to the king's absolute power, and offered their lives and fortunes to defend it against all opposers. They passed an act, making it death to refort to any conventicles in houses or fields; and declared it high treason to give or, take the national covenant, or to write in defence of it. They also obliged the subjects of Scotland to take an oath, when required, to maintain the king's absolute power, on pain of banishment. Popery made very confiderable advances in that kingdom, and feveral persons of character changed their religion with the times.* But the populace were in the other extreme; the earl of Perth having fet up a private chapel for mass, the mob broke into it with fuch fury that they defaced and destroyed the whole furniture, for which one of them was apprehended and hanged. When the English court changed measures, the Scots parliament agreed to a suspension of the penal laws during the king's life; but his majesty insisting upon an entire repeal, which they declined, he diffolved them. The episcopal clergy were obsequious to the court, and in many places fo funk into floth and ignorance, that the lower people were grown quite indifferent in matters of religion; but the presbyterians, though now freed from the severities they had fmarted under for many years, expressed upon all occasions an unconquerable aversion to popery, and by degrees roused the whole nation out of their lethargy.

In Ireland things had still a more favourable aspect for the court: the king had a greater dependance on the Irish catho-

been chaplain to lord Russel; and was a man of considerable learning and abilities, of great simmless and fortitude of mind. In 1683-4 he had incurred a heavy sentence in the king's bench, being fined 500 marks, and committed to the prison till it was paid, and sureties for his good behaviour for a year were found. This penalty was incurred by the publication of a book entitled Julian the Apostate, in 1682, intended to expose the doctrines of passive-obedience and non-resistance; and to shew the great difference between the case of the primitive christians, who had the laws against them, and ours who have the laws on our side. Birch's Life, of Archb. Tillotson, p. 216, &c. Ed.

^{*} Burnet, vol. iii. p. 86, 90.

licks* than upon any other of his subjects. Colonel Talbot, earl of Tyrconnel, was made lord lieutenant of that country, a vile and profligate officer, who scrupled no kind of barbarity and wickedness to serve his cause; he broke several protestant officers in the army, and by degrees turned them all out to make room for papists. All offices both civil and military were put into the hands of the vilest miscreants; there was not a protestant sherisf lest in that kingdom; the charters were taken away, and new-modelled in savour of papists. The corporations were dissolved, and all things managed with an arbitrary hand, so that many, imagining the massacring knife to be at their throats, lest the kingdom; some transporting themselves into England, and others into more remote and distant countries. Thus far the prerogative prevailed without any repulse.

Matters being now ripe for attacking the church of England in form, it was refolved to begin with making an example of some of their leading divines: Dr. Sharp, rector of St. Giles's, having disobeyed the king's order, of not preaching on the controverted points, and spoken disrespectfully of the king's religion in one of his sermons, the bishop of London was ordered to suspend him; but the bishop, with all respect and duty to his majesty, sent word, that he could not proceed in such a summary way, but that when the cause was heard in the commons he would pronounce such sentence as the canons should warrant; and in the mean time would desire the doctor to sorbear preaching.† The court resenting the bishop's denial, cited him; before the ecclessionalization

^{*} So hostile to the cause of liberty were the Irish catholicks; that, not content with oppressing it in their own kingdom, they encouraged the emigration of their own body with a view to check its spread beyond the Atlantic. For they suggested to king James to grant, in lieu of lands, money to such of their countrymen as were willing to transport themselves into New-England to advance the catholick faith there, and check the growing independants of that country. Life of Dr. Increase Mather, p. 43. Ed.

† Burnet, p. 83, 4, 5.

[†] Dr. Compton, the bishop of London, had, by a conduct worthy of his birth and station in the church, acquired the love and esteem of all the protestant churches at home and abroad: and for that reason, was the mark of the envy and hatred of the Romish party at court. He made a distinguishing figure in the following reigns. He was the youngest son of Spencer

in a manner unbecoming his character. The bishop excepted to the authority of the court, as contrary to law, and added, that he had complied in the doctor's case as far as the ecclesiastical laws would permit. However, notwithstanding all that his lordship could say in his defence he was suspended ab officio,* and the bishops of Durham, Rochester, and Peterborough, were appointed commissioners to exercise jurisdiction during his suspension. But Dr. Sharp, after having expressed his sorrow in a petition for falling under the king's displeasure, was dismissed with a gentle reprimand, and suffered to return to the exercise of his sunction.

The king's next attempt was upon the universities: he began with Cambridge, and commanded Dr. Peachel the vice-chancellor to admit one Alban Francis, a benedictine monk, to the degree of M. A. without administering to him any oath or oaths whatsoever; all which his majesty declared he would dispense with. The vice-chancellor having read the letter to the congregation of regents, it was agreed to petition the king to revoke his mandate; but instead of

earl of Northampton, who was killed in the civil wars. After having fludied three years at the university, and made the usual tour of Europe, he became a cornet in the royal regiment of guards; which gave occasion to the following Bon-mot: king James, discoursing with him on some tender point, was so little pleased with his answers, that he told him, "He "talked more like a colorel than a bishop." To which he replied, "that his majesty did him honour in taking notice of his having formerly drawn his sword in desence of the constitution; and that he should do the same again, if he lived to see it necessary." Accordingly he appeared in arms again a little before the revolution, and at the head of a sine troop of gentlemen and their atteadants carried off the princess Anne, and marched into Nottingham. Welwood's Memoirs, p. 175; and Granger's History of England, vol. iv. p. 283, 4. ED.

*Though Bp. Compton was thus deprived of his episcopal power, he still retained his other capacities, particularly as a governor of Sutton's Hospital, and preserved the intrepidity of his spirit. For when an attempt was made by the recommendation of the king, to introduce a papist as a pensioner, contrary to the statutes of that institution, the bishop, in conjunction with some other trustees, so sirmly opposed the encroachment upon the rights of the soundation, that the court and commissioners saw sit in the end to desist from their design. Life of Bp. Compton, p. 45; where from p. 22—39, and Biographia Britannica, vol. iv. article Compton, p. 55, 56, second edit. may be seen a full account of his prosecution. Ep.

complying with their petition, the king sent for the vice-chancellor before the ecclesiastical commission, by whom he was suspended ab officio & beneficio, for disobedience and contempt of the king's commands; and Dr. Balderston, master of Emanuel college, was chosen vice-chancellor in his room.

Soon after the king fent a mandamus to the vice-prefident of Magdalen college, Oxford, and to the fellows, to choose Mr. Farmer, a man of ill reputation, their president, in the room of Dr. Clarke, deceased; but in defiance of the king's mandate they chose Dr. Hough; for which they were cited before the ecclefiastical commissioners, but having proved Farmer to be a man of bad character, the king relinquished him, and ordered them by another mandate to choose Dr. Parker bishop of Oxford. The fellows, having agreed to abide by their first choice, refused to elect the bishop, as contrary to their statutes. Upon which the commissioners were fent to visit them, who, after fundry enquiries and examinations, deprived Dr. Hough, and installed the bishop of Oxford by proxy; and the fellows refusing to sign a submission to their new president, twenty-five of them were deprived, and made incapable of any benefice.* Parker died foon after, and one of the popish bishops was by mandamus chosen president in his place; which inslamed the church party fo far, that they fent preffing meffages to the prince of Orange, defiring him to espouse the cause of the church, and break with the king if he would not redrefs their grievances. Thus the very first beginnings of refistance to king James came from that very university which but four years before had pronounced this doctrine damnable by a folemn decree; and from those very men who were afterwards king William's most bitter enemies.+

The more desperate the war grew between the king and the church, the more necessary did both parties find it to shew

^{*} It will be thought but justice to the memory of Bp. Sprat to state what he himself declared was his conduct on this and the two preceding occasions. It was this: he resolutely persisted in his dissent from every vote that passed against Magdalen college; he opposed to the utmost the violent persecution upon the university of Cambridge: and he gave his positive vote for the bishop's acquittal both times, when his suspension came in question. Dr. Grey's Examination, p. 406, 7. Ed.

⁺ Burnet, p. 701.

kindness to the dissenters; for this purpose his majesty sent agents among them, offering them the royal favour, and all manner of encouragement, if they would concur with him in abrogating the penal laws and test; he invited some of their ministers to court, and pretended to consult them in the present criss.* The clergy, at the same time, prayed and intreated the dissenters to appear on their side, and stand by the establishment, making large promises of savour and brotherly affection, if ever they came into power.

The king, notwithstanding the stubbornness of the clergy, called a council, in which he declared his resolution to iffue out a declaration for a general liberty of conscience to all persons of what persuasion soever, + " which he was moved to 46 do, by having observed, that though an uniformity of "worship had been endeavoured to be established within " this kingdom in the successive reigns of four of his pre-"deceffors, affifted by their respective parliaments, yet it " had proved altogether ineffectual. That the restraint " upon the consciences of differers had been very prejudi-" cial to the nation, as was fadly experienced by the horrid rebellion in the time of his majesty's father. That the " many penal laws made against diffenters had rather in-" creafed than leffened the number of them; and that " nothing could more conduce to the peace and quiet of "this kingdom, and the increase of the number as well as " of the trade of his subjects, than an entire liberty of

^{*} Amongst other measures, which expressed the disposition of the court towards dissenters, was the power with which some gentlemen were invested to grant out licences directed to the bishops and their officers, to the judges, justices, and all others whom it may concern. The licences were to this effect: "That the king's pleasure is, that the several persons (named in a schedule annexed) be not prosecuted or molested. I. For not taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy: or, 2, upon the prerogative writ for zol. a month: or, 3, upon outlawries, or excom. capiend. for the said causes: or, 4, for not receiving the sacrament: or, 5, by reason of their conviction for recusancy or exercise of their religion, a command to stay proceedings already begun for any of the causes aforesaid." The price for any one of these licences was 101. for a single person: but if several joined the price was 161. and eight persons might join in taking out one licence. There were not very many diffenters that took out these licences. Tong's Life of Mr. Matthew Henry, p. 45, 6, 12mo. Ed.

⁺ Gazette, No. 2226.

"conscience, it having always been his opinion, as most fuitable to the principles of christianity, That no man solution for conscience sake; for he thought conscience could not be forced, and that it could never be the true interest of a king of England to endeavour to do it."*

This fpeech meeting with no opposition in the council, his majesty on the 4th of April caused his gracious declaration for liberty of conscience to be published. In the preamble to which his majesty does not scruple to fay, " That he cannot " but heartily wish (as it will easily be believed) that all his " fubjects were members of the catholick church, yet it is his " opinion, that conscience ought not to be forced, for the reasons " mentioned in the foregoing speech," which he rehearses at large; and then adds, "By virtue of his royal prerogative, he "thinks fit to iffue out his declaration of indulgence, making " no doubt of the concurrence of his two houses of parlia-" ment, when he shall think it convenient for them to meet. " And, first, He declares, that he will protect and maintain " his archbishops, bishops and clergy, and all other his sub-" jects of the church of England, in the free exercise of their "religion as by law established, and in the quiet and full-" enjoyment of their possessions. Secondly, That it is his " royal will and pleafure, that all penal laws for non-con-" formity to the religion established, or by reason of the " exercise of religion in any manner whatsoever, be imme-"diately suspended. And to the end that, by the liberty " hereby granted, the peace and fecurity of the government " in the practice thereof may not be endangered, he firitly " charges and commands all his subjects, that as he freely "gives them leave to meet, and ferve God after their own "way, be it in private houses, or places purposely hired " and built for that use, so that they take special care that " nothing be preached or taught among them which may

† Gazette, No. 2231.

^{*} Under all the pretences of tenderness, liberal policy and wisdom, which gilded over the king's speech, "It was well understood," observes fir John Reresby, "that his view was to divide the protestant churches, "divide & impera; that so the papists might with the more ease possess "themselves of the highest place." Memoirs, p. 243. ED.

tend to alienate the hearts of his people from him or his government; and that their meetings or affemblies be be peaceably, openly, and publickly held, and all persons of freely admitted to them; and that they fignify and make known to some one or more of the next justices of peace, " what place or places they fet apart for fuch uses. And the is defirous to have the benefit of the service of all his 66 fubjects, which by the law of nature is inseparably an-" nexed and inherent to his royal person. And that none " of his subjects may be for the future under any discou-" ragements or difability, who are otherwise well inclined, " and fit to ferve him, by reason of some oaths or tests, that " have usually been administered upon such occasions, he "hereby further declares, that it is his will and pleafure, " that the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and the several " tests and declarations mentioned in the acts of parliament " made in the 25th and 30th of his brother's reign, shall not " bereafter be required to be taken, declared, or subscribed by " any persons whatsoever, who are or shall be employed in any office, or place of truft, either civil or military, under him or " in his government. And it is his intention from time to "time hereafter to grant his royal dispensation to all his " fubjects, fo to be employed, who shall not take the said " oaths, or subscribe or declare the faid tests or declarations. "And he does hereby give his free and ample pardon to " all non-conformist recusants, and other his subjects, for all " crimes and things by them committed, or done contrary "to the penal laws formerly made relating to religion, and "the profession or exercise thereof. And although the " freedom and affurance he has hereby given in relation to " liberty and property might be fufficient to remove from "the minds of his fubjects all fears and jealousies in relation " to either, yet he thinks fit to declare, that he will maintain "them in all their properties and possessions, as well of " church and abbey lands, as in other their estates and pro-" perties whatfoever."* A declaration

The operation of this declaration extended beyond England, or Scotland; for it proved beneficial to the people of New-England, whose religious liberties as well as their civil rights were near expiring: and who had been told by some in power, "They must not think to have the pri"vileges of Englishmen follow them to the ends of the earth: and they

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A declaration of the same nature was sent to Scotland, in which the king, "by virtue of his prerogative royal, absolute "authority and power over all his subjects, who are bound to obey him without reserve, repeals all the severe laws made by his grandfather king James I. and takes off all disabilities from his Roman catholick subjects, which rendered them incapable of employments and benefices. He also slack—ened the laws against moderate presbyterians, and promised never no force his subjects by any invincible necessity to change their religion. He also repealed all laws imposing tests on those who held any employments.";

This was strange conduct (fays bishop Burnet) in a Roman catholick monarch, at a time when his brother of France had just broke the edict of Nantz, and was dragooning his protestant subjects out of his kingdom. But the bishop sufpects the king's fincerity in his declaration, from his promising to use no invincible necessity to force his subjects to change their religion, as if there was a referve, and that fome degrees of compulsion might be proper one time or other; which feems to have been a parallel case to the doctrine of the church concerning non-refistance. However, by another proclamation, the king granted full liberty to the Scots presbyterians to set up conventicles in their own way, which they thankfully accepted; but when his majesty pressed them to dispose their friends to concur with him in taking off the test and penal laws, which they knew was only to ferve the papists, they answered only in cold and general terms.

"had no more privileges left them than to be bought and fold as flaves." Upon the liberty, which the declaration afforded them, Dr. Increase Mather was deputed to take a voyage to England, with addresses of thanks to the king from various towns and churches; though the measure was opposed by the rulers of the province. When he presented them, he was graciously received, and was admitted to different and repeated audiences with the king, who, on receiving the addresses, said, "You shall have "magna charta for liberty of conscience:" and on its being intimated to him by two of his courtiers, at one of the audiences, that the favour shewn to New-England would have a good influence on the body of dissenters in England, his reply was, "He believed so, and it should be "done." Life of Dr. Increase Mather, p. 37, &c. Ed.

[†] Eachard, p. 1083.—Burnet, p. 136.

In pursuance of these declarations, the dissenters of all softes were not only set at liberty, but admitted to serve in all offices of prosit and trust. Nov. 6, the king sent an order to the lord-mayor of London to dispense with the quakers taking oaths,* or at least, not to sine them if they refused to serve, by which means a door was open to the Roman catholicks, and to all others, to bear offices in the state without a legal qualification. Several addresses were presented to the king upon this occasion from the companies in the city of London, from the corporations in the country, and even from the clergy themselves, thanking his majesty for his declaration for liberty of conscience, and his promise to support the church of England as by law established, assuring him of their endeavours to choose such members for the next parliament as should give it a more legal sanction.

The feveral denominations of diffenters also were no less thankful for their liberty, and addressed his majesty in higher strains than some of their elder and more cautious ministers approved; Mr. Baxter, Mr. Stretton, and a great many others, refused to join in them; and bishop Burnet admits that sew concurred in those addresses, and that the persons

^{*} Sewel informs us, that the king carried his condescension to the quakers so far, that a countryman of that persuasion came to him with his hat on his head, the king took off his own hat and held it under his arm: which the other seeing, said, "The king needs not keep off his hat for me." To which his majesty replied, "You do not know the custom here, for that requires that but one hat must be on here."

Sewel's History, p. 609. En.

^{||} Dr. Grey controverts the above affertions of bishop Burnet: he has given at length eight addresses from different bodies of dissenters, in different parts of the kingdom, as specimens of the courtly, not to say fulsome and flattering strains, which they, on this occasion, adopted: and he refers to the gazettes of the times, as furnishing about seventy other compositions of the same kind; in which this oppressed body, emancipated from their sufferings, fears, and dangers, poured forth the fentiments of loyalty and gratitude. Mr. Stretton, mentioned above, who had been ejected from Petworth in Suffex, and afterwards gathered a congregation in London, which affembled at Haberdashers'-Hall, was a minister of great reputation and influence; an active and useful character. He made use of the liberty granted by the king's proclamation, but never did, nor would join in any address of thanks for it, left he should seem to give countenance to the king's affuming a power above the law; and he was instrumental to prevent several addresses. Henry's Funeral Sermon for Stretton, p. 45. Grey's Examination, vol. iii. p. 410-416. ED. who

who prefented them were mean and inconfiderable. When there was a general meeting of the ministers to consider of their behaviour in this crisis, and two messengers from court waited to carry back the refult of the debate, Mr. Howe delivered his opinion against the dispensing power, and against every thing that might contribute affistance to the papifts to enable them to subvert the protestant religion.* Another minister stood up, and declared, that he apprehended their late fufferings had been occasioned more by their firm adherence to the constitution, than their differing from the establishment, and therefore if the king expected they should give up the constitution and declare for the dispensing power, he had rather, for his part, lose his liberty, and return to his former bondage. In conclusion Mr. Howe, in fumming up the whole debate, fignified to the courtiers, that they were in general of the same opinion. Mr. Coke adds, that to his knowledge the differers did both dread and detest the dispensing power; and their steadiness in this crisis was a noble stand by a number of men who subfifted only by the royal favour, which ought not to have been fo foon forgotten.

Though the court were a little disappointed in their expectations from the dissenters, they put the best face they could on the affair, and received such addresses as were presented with high commendation. The sirst who went up were the London anabaptists, who say, that "the sense "of this invaluable favour and benefit derived to us from your royal elemency, compel us to prostrate ourselves at "your majesty's feet with the tender of our most humble "thanks for that peace and liberty which both we, and all other dissenters from the national church, now enjoy."

* Gazette, No. 2234.

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[†] This gentleman was Dr. Daniel Williams, who pursued the argument with such clearness and strength, that all present rejected the motion, and the court agents went away disappointed. There was a meeting at the same time of a considerable number of the city clergy, waiting the issue of their deliberations: who were greatly animated and encouraged by the bold and patriotic resolution of the dissenting ministers. Life of Dr. Williams, prefixed to his practical discourses, vol. i. p. 10. Ep.

¹ Howe's Life, p. 134.

^{||} Gazette, No. 2234.

Next came the presbyterians,* " who acknowledge his ma-" jefty's princely compassion in rescuing them from their long "Aufferings, in restoring to God the empire-over conscience, " and publishing to the world his royal christian judgment, "That conscience may not be forced; and his resolution that " fuch force should not be attempted in his reign, which "they pray may be long." Then followed the independents: "Sir, The great calamity we have been a long time " under, through the fevere execution of the penal laws in " matters of religion, has made us deeply fensible of your " majesty's princely clemency towards us your diffenting "fubjects, especially since in the indulgence vouchsafed "there are no limitations hindering the enjoyment of it "with a good conscience, and that your majesty publisheth "to the world that it has been your constant sense and opinion, that conscience ought not to be constrained, nor " people forced in matters of meer religion." + About the fame time was published the humble and thankful address of the London quakers, | to this purpose, " May it please the "king! Though we are not the first in this way, yet we

+ Gazette, No. 2238.

|| Sewel, p. 606.

This address had about thirty hands to it; it was presented by Mr. Hurst, Mr. Chester, Mr. Slatter, Mr. Cox, Mr. Roswell, Mr. Turner, Mr. Franklin, Mr. Deal, and Mr. Reynolds. It is preserved at length, with the king's answer, in the Biographia Britannica, vol. i. article Alsop. It was supposed to have been drawn up by Mr. Alsop; whose feelings and gratitude, on the free pardon which the king had given to his fon convicted of treasonable practices, may be reckoned to have had great influence in dictating and promoting it. After the spirited resolution mentioned above had been carried, some of the ministers were privately closeted with king James, and some few received particular and personal favours: by these fascinating arts they were brought over. And their conduct had its weight in producing fimilar addresses from the country. Part of the king's answer deserves to be recorded as a monument of his infincerity, and a warning, that kings can degrade themselves by recourse to duplicity and falsehood. "Gentlemen," said James, "I protest before God, and " I defire you to tell all manner of people, of all persuasions; -that I " have no other defign than I have spoken of. And, gentlemen, I hope to " live to fee the day, when you shall as well have magna charta for the "liberty of conscience, as you have had for your properties." 'The ministers went away satisfied with the welcome which they had received from "the pleasant countenances of the courtiers, and the courteous words, " looks, and behaviour of his majesty." Palmer's Nonconformists Memorial, vol. ii. p. 13. ED.

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"hope we are not the least sensible of the great favours "we are come to present the king our humble, open, and "hearty thanks for. We rejoice to see the day that a king "of England should, from his royal seat, so universally "affert this royal principle, that conscience ought not to be "restrained, nor people forced for matters of religion.*" The several addresses above-mentioned express their humble dependance on his majesty's royal promise to secure their rights and properties, and that he will endeavour to engage his two houses of parliament to concur with him in this good work. Here are no slights of expression, nor promises of obedience without reserve, but purely a sense of gratitude for the restoration of liberty.

And though it must be allowed that some few dissenters, from an excess of joy, or it may be, from a strong resentment against their late persecutors, published some severe pamphlets, and gave too much countenance to the measures

* There are, it has been justly observed to the editor, some errors in the above extract: viz. the word royal instead of glorious, before principle; and the omission of mere before religion. En.

+ Though Mr. Neal's character of the addresses which he quotes, be admitted as just, it will not apply to all which the diffenters presented on this occasion: "Some of them," Dr. Calamy observes, " ran high." But for the strong language in which they were expressed, or, for the numbers to which they amounted, an apology may be drawn from the excess of joy with which the royal indulgence, though an infidious measure, naturally inspired those who, for many years, had groaned under the rod of persecution. It should also be considered, that but very few, comparatively, think deeply or look far. Present, pleasing appearances mislead and captivate the generality. There is also a propensity in mankind to follow those who take the lead, and a readiness to credit and flatter royalty and greatness. The diffenters, however, not without reason, incurred censure for " a vaft croud of congratulatory addresses complimenting the king "in the highest manner, and protesting what mighty returns of loyalty "they would make:" and were called "the Pope's journeymen to carry " on his work." But these censures came with an ill grace, as Dr. Calamy remarks, " from the church party, who had fet them the pattern;" who in a most luxuriant manner had thanked king Charles for dissolving one of the best parliaments; who were mighty forward in the surrender of charters; and who, in their fulsome addresses, made no other claim to their liberties and civil rights than as concessions from the crown, telling the king, "every one of his commands was stamped with God's authority." The university of Oxford, in particular, promised king James to obey him without limitations or restrictions. Dr. Grey and Calamy's Life of Howe, p. 137-8. ED.

of the court, as Mr. Lobb, Alsop, and Penn the quaker, yet the body of them kept at a distance, and, "as thankful as "they were for their liberty, (says lord Halifax) they were fearful of the issue; neither can any number of consideration among them be charged with hazarding the publick safety, by falling in with the measures of the court,
of which they had as great a dread as their neighbours."
And the lords, in a conference with the house of commons upon the occasional bill, in the first year of queen Anne, say,
That in the last and greatest danger the church was exposed to, the dissenters joined with her, with all imaginable zeal and sincerity against the papists their common enemies, shewing no prejudice to the church, but the utmost respect to the bishops when sent to the Tower."

But as the king and ministry carried all before them, the church party were in despair, and almost at their wits end; they saw themselves on the brink of ruin, imagining that they should be turned out of their freeholds for not reading the king's declaration, and that the non-conformists would be admitted into their pulpits; as Dr. Sherlock, master of the Temple, acknowledged in conversation to Mr. Howe; tand that, as the papists had already invaded the universities.

[&]quot;The churchmen on their fide," fays Dr. Warner, "did all that "lay in their power to establish an union, as the only possible means of their joint security. They published pamphlets from time to time, action where their error in driving the presbyterians to extremities; confessing that they were not enough upon their guard against the artistices of the court, and promising a very different behaviour on the re-establishment of their affairs. It must be owned, that this conduct was dextrous, and sensible, and just. It must be faid, however," observes this author, "that they had not attained this wisdom, till it was almost too late; at least, not during the space of twenty years, and till by their absurd principles of passive obedience, taught in their pulpits, and acts of parliament, they had enabled the king to become arbitrary and tyrannical. It is no less true, that an accusation lies against them of having forgotten this promise after the revolution, as they did at the restoration of Charles II." Eccles. Hist, vol. ii. p. 639, 40. Ed.

^{† &}quot;Who knows," faid Dr. Sherlock, "but Mr. Howe may be offered to be master of the Temple?" Mr. Howe replied, "that he should not baulk an opportunity of more publick service, if offered on terms he had no just reason to except against." But then he added, "that he would not meddle with the emolument, otherwise than as an hand to convey

fities, they would in a little time overfet the whole hierarchy. In this distress they turned their eyes all around them for relief: they applied to the diffenters, giving them the strongest assurances of a comprehension, and toleration in better times, if they would but affift in delivering them out of their present troubles. Bishop Burnet says, that the clergy here in England wrote to the prince of Orange, and defired him to fend over fome of the diffenting preachers, whom the violence of the former times had driven into Holland, and to prevail effectually with them to oppose any false brethren, whom the court might have gained over; and that they fent over very folemn affurances, which paffed through his own hands, that in case they stood firm now to the common interest they would in a better time come into a comprehension of such as could be brought into conjunction with the church, and to a toleration of the rest. Agreeably to these assurances, when the reverend Mr. Howe, Mr. Mead, and other refugee ministers, waited on the prince of Orange, to return him thanks for the protection of the country, and to take their leave, his highness made them some presents to pay their debts and defray their charges home; and having wished them a good voyage, he advised them to be very cautious in their addresses; and not to fuffer themselves to be drawn into the measures of the court fo far as to open a door for the introducing of popery, by defiring the taking off of the penal laws and test as was intended.* He requested them also to use their influence with their brethren to lay them under the fame restraints. His highness fent orders likewise to monsieur Dykvelt his refident, to press the dissenters to stand off from the court; and

[&]quot;it to the legal proprietor." Upon this the doctor, not a little transported with joy, rose up from his seat and embraced him; saying, "that had always taken him for that ingenuous honest man that he now found him to be." Mr. Howe afterwards told this passage to a dignitary of the church, to whom the doctor was well known: signifying, how little he was prepared to reply to a supposition that had not so much as once entered into his thoughts before. The gentleman answered; "Sir, you fay you had not once thought of the case, or so much as supposed any thing like it; but you must give me leave to tell you, if you had studied the case seven years together, you could not have said any thing more to the purpose, or more to the doctor's satisfaction." Calamy's Life of Howe, p. 141, 42. Ep.

^{*} Calamy's Life of Howe, p. 132.

to affure them of a full toleration and comprehension if possible, when the crown should devolve on the princess of Orange. Agents were sent among the dissenters to soften their resentments against the church, and to assure them, that for the future they would treat them as brethren, as will be seen in the next chapter.

The differers had it now in their power to diffress the church party, and it may be, to have made reprifals, if they would have given way to the revenge, and fallen heartily in with the king's measures. They were strongly folicited on both fides; the king perferred them to places of profit and trust, and gave them all manner of countenance and encouragement; and the churchmen loaded them with promifes and affurances what great things they would do for them, as foon as it should be in their power. But, alas! no sooner was the danger over than the majority of them forgot their vows in diffress; for when the convocation met the first time after the Revolution, they would not hear of a comprehension, nor fo much as acknowledge the foreign churches for their brethren, feeming rather inclined to return to their old methods of perfecution. So little dependance ought to be placed on high church promifes!

But in their present circumstances it was necessary to flatter the non-conformists, and weaken the king's hands, by dissuading the dissenters from placing any confidence in their new friends; for this purpose a pamphlet, written by the marquis of Halifax, and published by advice of some of the most eminent dignitaries of the church, was dispersed, entitled, A letter to a dissenter upon occasion of his majesty's late gracious declaration of induspence. It begins with saying, "that churchmen are not surprised nor provoked at the dissenters accepting the offers of ease from the late hardships they lay under; but desired them to consider, 1. The cause they have to suspect their new friends. And, 2. Their duty in christianity and prudence not to hazard the publick safety by a desire of

"ease or revenge.
"With regard to the first, the church of Rome (says the author) does not only dislike your liberty, but, by its prin-

"ciples, cannot allow it; they are not able to make good their vows; nay, it would be a habit of fin that requires absolution;

"absolution; you are therefore hugged now only that you may be the better squeezed another time. To come so quick from one extreme to another is such an unnatural motion, that you ought to be on your guard: the other day you were sons of Belial, now you are angels of light. Popery is now the only friend of liberty, and the known enemy of persecution. We have been under shameful

" mistakes if this can be either true or lasting."

The letter goes on to infinuate, " that fome ministers had " been bribed into the measures of the court; that they were " under engagements, and impowered to give rewards to "others, where they could not persuade. Now if these or " others should preach up anger and vengeance against the " church of England, ought they not rather to be suspected " of corruption, than o act according to judgment. If they " who thank the king for his declaration should be engaged " to justify it in point of law, I am perfuaded it is more than "the addressers are capable of doing. There is a great dif-" ference between enjoying quietly the advantage of an act " irregularly done by others, and becoming advocates for it; "but frailties are to be excused. Take warning by the mis-" take of the church of England, when after the Restoration " they preserved so long the bitter taste of your rough usage to " them, that it made them forget their interest, and sacrifice it " to their revenge. If you had now to do with rigid prelates "the argument might be fair on your fide, but fince the " common danger has fo laid open the mistake, that all for-" mer haughtiness towards the diffenters is for ever extin-" guished, and the spirit of persecution is turned into a spirit " of peace, charity, and condescension, will you not be " moved by fuch an example? If it be faid the church is " only humble when it is out of power; the answer is, that " is uncharitable, and an unseasonable triumph; besides, it " is not so in fact, for if she would comply with the court, " fhe could turn all the thunder upon yourselves, and blow " you off the stage with a breath; but she will not be rescued "by fuch unjustifiable means. You have formerly very " justly blamed the church of England for going too far in " her compliance with the court; conclude, therefore, that " you must break off your friendship, or set no bounds to it.

"The church is now convinced of its error, in being too " fevere to you; the next parliament will be gentle to you; " the next heir is bred in a country famous for indulgence; "there is a general agreement of thinking men, that we "must no more cut ourselves off from foreign protestants, " but enlarge our foundations; fo that all things conspire to give you ease and satisfaction, if you do not too much " anticipate it. To conclude, the short question is, Whe-"ther or no you will join with those who must in the end " run the same fate with you? If the protestants of all forts 66 have been to blame in their behaviour to each other, they " are upon equal terms, and for that very reason ought now "to be reconciled." How just soever the reasoning of this letter may be, either the author did not know the spirit of the church party, (as they were called) or he must blush when he compared it with the facts that followed the Revolution. Twenty thousand copies were dispersed about the city and country, and had the defired effect, the honest well-meaning diffenters making no advantage of the favourable juncture; they entered into no alliance with the papifts, nor complied with the court measures, any further than to accept their own liberty, which they had a natural right to, and of which they ought never to have been deprived.

The war between the king and the church being now declared, each party prepared for their defence; the points in debate were, A GENERAL TOLERATION, and the DISPEN-SING POWER; the latter of which the high church party had connived at during the late reign; but when the edge of it was turned against themselves, (the king having used it to break down the fences of the church, by abrogating the penal laws and tests, and making an inroad upon the two univerfities) they exclaimed against it as subversive of the whole constitution; and forgetting their late addresses, contested this branch of the prerogative. The king had fecured the opinion of the judges in favour of it, but this not giving fatisfaction, he determined to obtain a parliamentary fanction. For this purpose he published the following order in the Gazette, "that whereas his majesty was resolved to use his " utmost endeavours, that his declaration of indulgence might " pass into a law, he therefore thought fit to review the lifts ce of

" of deputy-lieutenants, and justices of peace in the several. " counties, that those may be continued who would be ready " to contribute what in them lies towards the accomplish-" ment of fo good and necessary a work, and such others " added to them, from whom his majesty may reasonably " expect the like concurrence and affiftance." Pursuant to this resolution the king's first parliament was dissolved, and agents were employed to dispose the people to the choice of fuch new members as might facilitate the court measures. The king himfelf went a progress round the country* to ingratiate himself with the people; and it can hardly be expressed (fays Eachard) with what joyful acclamations his majesty was received, and what loyal acknowledgments were paid him in all places; but in the affair of the tests (fays Burnet)+ there was a visible coldness among the nobility and gentry, though the king behaved in a most obliging manner.

When the king returned from his progress he began to change the magistracy in the several corporations in England, according to the powers reserved to the crown in the new charters; he turned out several of the aldermen of the city of London, and placed new ones in their room. He caused the lists of lord-lieutenants, and deputy-lieutenants, to be reviewed, and such as would not promise to employ their interests in the repeal of the penal laws were discarded. Many protestant dissenters were put into commission on this

^{*} When he came to Chefter, (it being intimated that it would be expected, and the churchmen having led the way, and divers of the Lancashire ministers coming thither on purpose to attend the king) Mr. Matthew Henry, and Mr. Harvey, ministers of another dissenting congregation in that city, with the heads of their societies, joined in an address of thanks to him, not for assuming a dispensing power, but for their ease, quiet, and liberty under his protection. They presented it to him at the bishop's palace in the abbev court; and he told them he wished they had a Magna Charta for their liberty. They did not promise to assist in taking away the tests, but only to live quiet and peaceable lives. This, however, was severely censured by some of their brethren. But the expressions of thank-sulness for their liberty were very different from the high slights and promises of Sir Richard Lieving, the recorder of Chester at that time; who, in a speech to king James, on his entering into the city, told him, "That the corporation was his majesty's creature, and depended on the will of its creator; and that the sole intimation of his majesty's pleasure should have "with them the force of a fundamental law." Mr. Thompson's MS. collections under the word Chester. Ep.

[†] Page 143.

occasion, in hopes that they would procure such members for the next parliament as should give them a legal right to what they now enjoyed only by the royal favour; but when the king pressed it upon the lord-mayor of London, and the new aldermen, who were chiefly differers, they made no

reply.

The reason of the dissenters' backwardness in an affair that fo nearly concerned them, and in which they have fince expressed so strong a desire, was their concern for the protestant religion, and their aversion to popery. The king was not only a Roman catholick, but a bigot; and it was evident, that the plucking up the fences at this time must have made a breach at which popery would enter. If the king had been a protestant, the case had been different, because papists could not take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to a prince who flood excommunicated by the church of Rome; but now there would be no obstacle, or if there was, the king would dispense with the law in their favour; the dissenters therefore were afraid, that if they should give into his majesty's meafures, though they might fecure their liberty for the prefent, it would stand on a precarious foundation; for if popery came in triumphant, it would not only fwallow up the church of England, but the whole protestant interest. They chose therefore to trust their liberty to the mercy of their protestant brethren, rather than receive a legal fecurity for it under a popish government.

According to this resolution bishop Burnet observes,* that Sir John Shorter, the new lord-mayor, and a protestant diffenter, thought fit to qualify himself for his office according to law, though the test was suspended, and the king had fignified to the mayor that he was at liberty, and might use what form of worship he thought best in Guildhall, which was defigned as an experiment to engage the presbyterians to make the first change from the established worship, concluding, that if a presbyterian mayor did this one year, it would be easy for a popish mayor to do it the next; but his lordship referred the case to those clergymen who had the government of the diocese of London during the bishop's suspenfion, who affured his lordship it was contrary to law; fo that though the lord-mayor went fometimes to the meetings of diffenters,

* Burnet, p. 145.

diffenters, he went frequently to church, and behaved with more decency (fays his lordship) than could have been expected. This disobliged the king to a very high degree, insomuch that he said, The diffenters were an ill-natured fort

of people that could not be gained.

This opposition to the king heightened his refentments, and pushed him on to rath and violent measures; if he had proceeded by flow degrees, and fecured one conquest before he had attempted another, he might have succeeded, but he gave himself up to the fury of his priests, who advised him to make hafte with what he intended. This was discovered by a letter from the jesuits from Liege to those of Friburgh, which fays, the king wished they could furnish him with more priests to assist him in the conversion of the nation. which his majesty was resolved to bring about, or die a martyr in the attempt. He faid, he must make haste that he might accomplish it in his life-time; and when one of them was lamenting that his next heir was an heretick, he answered, God will provide an beir; which argued either a strong faith, or a formed defign of imposing one on the nation. Father Petre was the king's chief minister, and one of his majesty's privy council, a bold and forward man, who fluck at nothing to ruin the church. The king designed him for the archbishoprick of York, now vacant, and for a cardinal's cap, + if he could prevail with the pope; for this purpose the earl of Castlemain was fent ambassador to Rome; and a nuncio was fent from thence into England, to whom his majesty aid all possible respect, and gave an audience at Windsor, though it was contrary to law; all commerce with the court of Rome having been declared high treason by the statute of king Henry VIII. but the king faid he was above law; and because the duke of Somerset would not officiate in his place at the ceremony he was difmiffed from all his employments.

It was strange infatuation in king James to put a slight on the ancient nobility, and turn most of his servants out of their places because they were protestants: this weakened his interest, and threw a vast weight into the opposite scale. Indeed it was impossible to disguise his majesty's design of introducing popery, and therefore Parker, bishop of Oxford,

^{*} Burnet, p. 135.

⁺ Ibid. p. 168.

[|] Ibid. p. 178.

was employed to justify it, who published a book, entitled, Reasons for abrogating the Test imposed on all Members of Parliament; which must refer to the renouncing transubstantiation, and the idolatry of the church of Rome; because the members of parliament had no other qualification imposed upon them besides the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. The bishop said much to excuse the doctrine of transubstantiation, and to free the church of Rome from the charge of idolatry. His reasons were licensed by the earl of Sunderland, and the stationer was commanded not to print any answer to them; but Dr. Burnet, then in Holland, gave them a very smart and satyrical reply, which quite ruined the

bishop's reputation.

But his majesty's chief dependance was upon his army, which he was casting into a popish mould; protestant officers were cashiered; Portsmouth and Hull, the two principal seaports of England, were in popish hands; and the majority of the garrisons were of the same religion. Ireland was an inexhaustible feminary, from whence England was to be supplied with a catholick army; an Irish Roman-catholick (fays Welwood) was a most welcome guest at Whitehall; and they came over in shoals. Over and above compleat regiments of papifts, there was scarce a troop or company in the army wherein some of that religion were not inferted, by express orders from court. Upon the whole, the affairs of the nation were drawing to a crisis; and it was believed, that what the king could not accomplish by the gentler methods of interest and persuasion he would establish by his sovereign power. The army at Hounflow was to awe the city and parliament; and if they proved refractory, an Irish massacre, or fome other desperate attempt, might poslibly decide the fate of the nation.

About this time died the Rev. Mr. David Clarkson, B.D. born at Bradford in Yorkshire, Feb. 1621-2, and fellow of Clare-hall, Cambridge, where he was tutor to Dr. Tillotson, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. Dr. Bates in his funeral sermon gives him the character of a man of sincere godliness and true holiness: humility and modesty were his distinctive characters; and his learning was superior to most of his time, as appears by his treatise of liturgies, his primi-

tive episcopacy, his practical divinity of papists destructive to men's fouls; and his volume of fermons, printed after his death. He was fometime minister of Mortlake in Surry, but after his ejectment he gave himfelf up to reading and meditation, shifting from one place of obscurity to another, 'till the times fuffered him to appear openly; he was then chosen successor to the reverend Dr. John Owen,* in the pastoral office to his congregation. Mr. Baxter fays, he was a divine of folid judgment, of healing moderate principles, of great acquaintance with the fathers, of great ministerial abilities, and of a godly upright life. Great was his folemnity and reverence in prayer; and the method of his fermons was clear, deep, and instructive. His death was unexpected, though (as he declared) it was no furprise to him, for he was entirely refigned to the will of God, and defired not to outlive his usefulness. This good man, (fays Dr. Bates) like holy Simeon, had Christ in his arms, and departed in peace, to see the falvation of God above, in the fixty-fixth year of his age.

Dr. Thomas Jacomb was born in Leicestershire, and educated first in Magdalen-hall, Oxon, and after in Emanuel college, Cambridge, from whence he removed to Trinity college, of which he was fellow. He came to London in 1647, and was soon after minister of Ludgate parish, where he continued till he was turned out in 1662. He met with some trouble after his ejectment, but being received into the family of the countess dowager of Exeter, daughter of the earl of Bridgwater, he was covered from his enemies. This honourable and virtuous lady was a comfort and support to the non-conformist ministers throughout the reign of king Charles II. Her respects to the doctor were peculiar, and her favours extraordinary, for which he made the best returns he was

. VOL. V. E able.

^{*} This is an inaccuracy: he was chosen copastor with Dr. Owen, July 1682, a year before the doctor's death. To the above account of Mr. Clarkson, it is not improper to add, that his excellent pupil, bishop Tilletson, always preserved that respect for him which he had contracted while he was under his tuition. His book on "Diocesan Episcopacy" shews him, says Mr. Granger, to have been a man of great reading in church history. In his conversation, a comely gravity, mixed with innocent pleasantness, were attractive of respect and love. He was of a calm temper, not russed with passions, but gentle, and kind, and good; his breast was the temple of peace. Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. ii. p. 451. Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 4. And Granger's History of England, vol. iii. p. 310, 8vo. Ep.

able. The doctor was a learned man, an able divine, a ferious affectionate preacher, of unspotted morals, and a non-conformist upon moderate principles. He died of a cancerous humour, that put him to the most acute pain, which he bore with invincible patience and resignation till the 27th March 1687, when he died in the counters of Exeter's house, in

the fixty-fixth year of his age.*

Mr. John Collins was educated in Cambridge, New-England, and returned from thence in the times of the civil war, became a celebrated preacher in London, having a fweet voice, and a most affectionate manner in the pulpit. He was chaplain to general Monk when he marched out of Scotland into England, but was not an incumbent any where when the act of uniformity took place. Being of the independant denomination he succeeded Mr. Mallory as pastor of a very considerable congregation of that persuasion, and was one of the Merchant Lecturers at Pinner's-hall. He was a man mighty in the scriptures; of an excellent natural temper; very charitable to all good men, without regard to parties; and died universally lamented, December 3, 1687.

[It feems to have escaped Mr. Neal's attention, to notice, at this period, two eminent persons, who died in the year 1686, Pearson, bishop of Chester, and Fell, bishop of Oxford.

Dr. John Pearson, born in 1612, was successively master of Jesus and Trinity colleges, in Cambridge; and also Margaret professor of divinity in that university. He had the

- It is a proof what different colouring a character derives from the dispositions and prejudices of those whose pen draws it, that Dr. Sherlock, who seems to have received some provocation from Dr. Jacomb, represents him "as the prettiest, nonsensical, trisling goose-cap that ever set pen to "paper." This description is contradicted by the nature of his library; if the choice of books indicate the turn of the mind. He left an incomparable collection of the most valuable books in all kinds of learning, and in various languages, which sold for 1300l. Granger's Hist. of England, vol. iii. p. 307. Ed.
- § When, during his illness, Mr. Mead affectionately prayed for his recovery at the Pinuer's-hall lecture, scarcely a dry eye was to be seen through the numerous auditory. Mr. Collins printed one fermon in the "Morning "Exercises," vol. iii. with the signature N. N. on this question, "How the "religious of a nation are the strength of it?" Mather's history of New-England, b. iv. p. 200; where may be seen a Latin epitaph for him. Ed.

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living of St. Clement's, Eastcheap, and was consecrated bishop of Chester, Feb. 9, 1672. He was a great divine, a profound and various scholar, eminently read in ecclesiastical history and antiquity, and an exact chronologist. He united with his learning, clearness of judgment and strength of rea-As a preacher, he was rather instructive than pathetic. The character of the clergyman was adorned by an excellent temper, distinguished humility, primitive piety, and spotless manners: as a bishop, he was deemed too remis and easy in his episcopal function. "He was," says bishop Burnet, "a " speaking instance of what a great man could fall to: for " his memory went from him so entirely, that he became a " child some years before he died." His late preferment to the episcopacy, and the great decay of his faculties, which it is to be supposed came on gradually, may account for his remissness in that station. His works were few, but of great reputation. The chief were, "a vindication of St. Ignatius' epiftles," in latin; and "an exposition of the apostles' creed:" esteemed one of the most finished pieces in theology in our language. The fubstance of it was originally delivered in fermons to his parishioners. This work has gone through twelve or thirteen editions. "It is itself," fays Mr. Granger, " a body of divinity, but not a body without a spirit. The "file of it is just; the periods are for the most part well " turned; the method is very exact; and it is in general free " from those errors which are too often found in theologi-" cal fystems." Burnet's History, vol. iii. 12mo. p. 109-10. Granger's History of England, vol. iii. p. 251, 8vo. and Richardson's Godwin de Præsulibus, p. 779.

Dr. John Fell was the son of Dr. Samuel Fell, sometime the dean of Christ-church, Oxford: he received his classical education in the free-school at Thame, in Oxfordshire: at eleven years of age he was made student of Christ-church, in 1636; and in 1643, graduated master of arts. About this time he took arms, within the garrison of Oxford, in the king's cause, and was made an ensign. In 1648, when he was in holy orders, he was displaced by the parliamentarian visitors; from that year, till the restoration, he spent his time in retirement and study; observing the devotions of the church of England with other oppressed royalists. After

the restoration he was installed canon; and then dean of Christ-church, Nov. 30, 1660, being then doctor in divinity, and one of the king's chaplains in ordinary. In the years 1667, 1668, and 1669, he was vice-chancellor of the university; and Feb. 6th, 1675, he was consecrated bishop of Oxford. Soon after his preferment he rebuilt the palace of Cusedon, belonging to the see. He was a munificent benefactor to his college, and raifed its reputation by his disci-He fettled on it no less than ten exhibitions; and the best rectories belonging to it were his purchase. He expended great fums in embellishing and adorning the university of Oxford. Learning was greatly indebted to his patronage and munificence. He liberally improved the press of the university; and the books that came from the Sheldonian theatre perpetuate, in this respect, his praise. For many years he annually published a book, generally a classic author. to which he wrote a preface and notes, and prefented it to the students of his house as a new-year's gift: amongst these was an edition of the Greek Testament, in 12mo, 1675; which Dr. Harwood pronounces to be " a very valuable and excel-" lent edition; that does honour to the bishop, because it " is upon the whole a correct book, and exhibits the va-" rious readings very faithfully." His edition of the works of Cyprian affords also a conspicuous proof of his industry and learning. But he did not lay out his fortune in publick acts of splendid munificence only: the private charities of life partook of his beneficence. To the widow he was a husband, to the orphan a father, and to poor children a tender parent, furnishing them with instruction, and placing them out in life. "He was in all respects a most exemplary " man, though (fays bishop Burnet) a little too much heated in the matter of our disputes with the dissenters. But, as " he was among the first of our clergy that apprehended the "defign of bringing in popery, fo he was one of the most ce zealous against it." It is a deduction from the merit of his character, as the patron of learning, that he was not well affected to the royal fociety: and it is to be regretted, that he was not friendly to that excellent man archbishop Tillotson; which was, probably, owing to a fense of his own fufferings before the reftoration: for he was not superior to a party spirit.

spirit. Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 602-5. Richardfon de Præsulibus, p. 548. Burnet's History, vol. iii. p. 100. Granger's History of England, vol. iii. p. 252. British Biogr. vol. v. p. 11; and Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 100.]

CHAP. II.*

From King James's Declaration for Liberty of Confcience, to the Act of Toleration in the Reign of King WILLIAM and Queen MARY.

-1688-

THOUGH the projects of the Roman-catholicks were ripe for execution, there was one circumstance which fpread a black cloud over all their attempts, which was the near prospect of a protestant successor to the crown: this was the only hope of the protestant cause, and the terror of the papists. To remove this impediment, his majesty first attempted to convert his eldest daughter MARY, princess of Orange, to the Roman-catholick religion, or at least to confent to the making way for it, by taking off the penal laws. To accomplish this, his majesty wrote an obliging letter to his daughter, reciting the motives of his own conversion; which were, the " great devotion of the church of Rome; the adorn-" ing their churches; their acts of charity, which were greater " than the protestants could boast of; the numbers who retired " from the world, and devoted themselves to a religious life.+ "He was convinced that Christ had left an infallibility in the " church, which the apostles acknowledged to be in St. Peter, " Acts xv. It was the authority of the church (fays he) that " declared the scriptures to be canonical; and certainly, they " who declared them could only interpret them, and where-" ever this infallibility was, there must be a clear succession, " which could be no where but in the church of Rome, the " church of England not pretending to infallibility, though " fhe acted as if she did, by perfecuting those who differed

^{*} In the author's edition this is chapter XII. of the IVth volume.

⁺ Burnet, p. 149, 155, vol. iii. Edin. Ed.

"from her, as well protestant dissenters as papists; but he could see no reason why dissenters might not separate from the church of England, as well as the church of England

" had done from that of Rome."

The Princess answered the king's letter with great respect; " fhe affirmed the right of private judgment, according to the " apostle's rule, of proving all things, and holding fast that " which is good. She faw clearly from the scriptures, that " (he must not believe by the faith of another, but according as "things appeared to berfelf. She confessed, if there was an infallibility in the church, all other controversies must fall " before it, but that it was not yet agreed where it was " lodged, whether in a pope or a general council, or both; and " she defired to know in whom the infallibility rested when " there were two or three popes at a time, acting one against "another; for certainly the fuccession must then be disor-She maintained the lawfulness and necessity of " reading the holy scriptures; for though faith was above " reason, it proposed nothing contradictory to it. St. Paul " ordered his epiftles to be read in all the churches; and he " fays in one place, I write as to wife men, JUDGE YE WHAT " I say; and if they might judge an apostle, much more any " other teacher. She excused the church of England's per-" fecuting the differers in the best manner she could; and " faid the reformers had brought things to as great per-" fection as those corrupt ages were capable of; and she did " not fee how the church was to blame, because the laws "were made by the state, and for civil crimes, and that the er grounds of the diffenters leaving the church were differ-" ent from those for which they had separated from the "church of Rome." It was impossible for the princess to clear up this objection. But bishop Burnet* adds very justly, that the feverities of the church against the diffenters were urged with a very ill grace, by one of the church of Rome, that has delighted herfelf fo often by being as it were bathed with the blood of those they call hereticks. Upon the whole it appeared, that her bighness was immoveably fixed in her religion, and that there was not the least prospect of her departing from it.

At the same time his majesty attempted the prince of Orange, for which purpose he employed one Mr. James Steward, a Scotch lawyer, who wrote several letters upon this argument to pensionary Fagel, in whom the prince placed an entire considence.* The pensionary neglected his letters for some time, but at length it being industriously reported, that the silence of the prince was a tacit consent, the pensionary laid all his letters before his highness, who commissioned the pensionary to draw up such an answer as might discover his true intentions and sense of things.

The answer was dated from the Hague, Nov. 4, 1687, and begins with affurances of the prince and princess's duty to the king; and fince Mr. Steward had given him to understand, that his letters were written with the king's knowledge and allowance, the penfionary affures him, in the name of their HIGHNESSES, that it was their opinion, that " no chrif-" tian ought to be persecuted for his conscience, or be ill used " because he differs from the established religion; and there-" fore they agreed that the papifts in Scotland and Ireland " should have the free exercise of their religion in private " as they had in Holland; and as to protestant diffenters, they " heartily approved of their having an entire liberty of their " religion without any trouble or hindrance; and their high-" nesses were ready to concur to the settling it, and giving "their guarantee to protect and defend it. If his majesty " defired their concurrence in repealing the penal laws, they " were ready to give it, provided the laws by which Roman-" catholicks were excluded from fitting in both houses of " parliament, and from all employments ecclefiaitical, civil " and military, remained in force; and likewife those other " laws which fecure the protestant religion against all at-" tempts of the Roman-catholicks; but they could not con-" fent to the repeal of those laws which tended only to secure " the protestant religion, such as the tests, because they im-" ported no more than a deprivation from publick employ-" ments, which could do them no great harm. If the num-" ber of the papists were inconsiderable, it was not reasonable " to infift upon it; and if those few that pretend to pub-" lick employments would do their party fo much injury as

^{*} Burnet, p. 165-6.

[†] Welwood's Memoirs, p. 218.

" not to be content with the repeal of the penal laws, unless "they could get into offices of trult, their ambition only was " to be blamed." This letter was carried by Mr. Steward to the king, and read in the cabinet council, but it had no effect, only the king ordered Mr. Steward to write back, that he would have all or nothing. However, the church party were fatisfied with the prince's resolution to maintain the tests; the protestant diffenters were pleased with their bighnesses' declaration for the repeal of the penal laws so far as concerned themselves, and they placed an entire confidence in their word. The lay-papists and seculars pressed the king to accept of the repeal of fo much of the penal laws as was offered, and blamed the ambition of the jesuits and courtiers, who, rather than abate any thing, would leave them exposed to the feverity of the law when a freedom was offered. At length the pensionary's letter was printed by allowance of the prince, and dispersed over England, which provoked the king to fuch a degree, that he spoke indecently of his highness to all the foreign ministers, and resolved to shew him the severest marks of his displeasure.

The first project of gaining the prince having failed, his majesty went upon another, which, had it succeeded, must effectually have defeated the protestant succession; and that was, providing the nation with an heir of his own body by the present queen, though for many years she had been reckoned incapable of having children. This was first whispered among the courtiers, but was foon after confirmed by proclamation in the Gazette of Jan. 2d and 26th, 1687-8, in words to this effect, "That it had pleafed Almighty God to "give his majesty apparent hopes, and good affurance, of "having iffue by his royal confort the queen, who, through "God's great goodness, was now with child;" wherefore his majesty appoints, that on the 15th of January, in the cities of London and Westminster; and on the 29th in all other places of England; and on the 29th of January and 19th of February in all places in Scotland, publick thanksgiving and folemn prayer be offered up to God on this occafion; and a form of prayer was drawn up accordingly by the bishops of Durham, Rochester, and Peterborough; in

^{*} Burnet, p. 167.

Gazette, No. 2309, and 2316.

which were these expressions: "Blessed be that good Provi-"dence that has vouchfafed us fresh hopes of royal issue by " our gracious queen Mary; strengthen her, we beseech "thee, and perfect what thou hast begun. Command thy " holy angels to watch over her continually, and defend her " from all dangers and evil accidents, that what the hath " conceived may be happily brought forth, to the joy of our " fovereign lord the king, the further establishment of his " crown, the happiness and welfare of the whole kingdom, " and the glory of thy great name, &c." This struck all the protestant part of the nation with consternation, except a few ranting tories, whose religion was at the service of the king, whenfoever he should call for it. The conception was looked upon by the jesuits as miraculous, and as the effect of a vow the gueen had made to the lady of Loretto: they prophefied it would certainly be a prince; while the protestants sighed in secret, and suspected a fraud; the grounds of which fuspicion the historians of these times have related at large.

The king, emboldened with the prospect of a popish successor, instead of venturing first upon a parliament, published another declaration for liberty of conscience, April 27, in higher strains, and more advantageous to the papists than

the former; the fubstance of it was as follows:

" JAMES REX,

"OUR conduct has been fuch in all times as ought to have perfuaded the world, that we are firm and conftant to our resolutions; yet, that easy people may not be abused by the malice of crasty wicked men, we think sit to declare, that our intentions are not changed since the 4th of April, 1687, when we issued our declaration for liberty of conscience in the following terms;" [Here the declaration is recited at large, and then it follows] "Ever since we granted the indulgence, we have made it our care to see it preserved without distinction, as we are encouraged to do daily by multitudes of addresses, and many other assurances we receive from our subjects of all persuasions, as testimo-

^{*} Calamy's Abridgments, p. 382. § Gazette, No. 2342.

of doubt not but the next parliament will shew, and that it will not be in vain that we have refolved to use our utmost endeavours to establish liberty of conscience on such just "and equal foundations as will render it unalterable, and fe-"cure to all people the free exercise of their religion for ever, by which future ages may reap the benefit of what is fo undoubtedly for the general good of the whole kingdom. It is fuch a fecurity we defire without the burthen " and constraint of oaths and tests, which have unhappily 66 been made by some governments, but could never supof port any. Nor could men be advanced by fuch means to " offices and employments, which ought to be the reward of " fervices, fidelity, and merit. We must conclude, that not "only good christians will join in this, but whoever is concerned for the wealth and power of the nation. It would, 66 perhaps, prejudice fome of our neighbours, who might a lose part of those vast advantages they now enjoy, if liberty of conscience were settled in these kingdoms, which are so above all others most capable of improvements, and of " commanding the trade of the world. In pursuance of this " great work we have been forced to make many changes both " of civil and military officers throughout our dominions, not "thinking any ought to be employed in our fervice who " will not contribute towards the colifhing the peace and f greatness of their country, which we most earnestly desire, as " unbiassed men may see by the whole conduct of our government, and by the condition of our fleet and of our armies, which, with good management, shall constantly be the same, " and greater, if the fafety or honour of the nation require We recommend these considerations to all our subiects, and that they will reflect on their ease and happiness, " now that above three years it has pleased God to permit " us to reign over these kingdoms, we have not appeared to be that prince our enemies would make the world afraid " of; our chief aim having been not to be the oppressor, 66 but father of our people, of which we can give no better " evidence, than by conjuring them to lay afide private ani-"mosities, as well as groundless jealousies, and to choose " fuch members of parliament as may do their parts to finish " what we have begun, for the advantage of the monarchy " Over

"over which Almighty God has placed us, being resolved to call a parliament that shall meet in November next at farthest."

This declaration was published in the usual manner, and ordered to be read in time of divine fervice in all churches and chapels in and about London, May 20th and 27th; and in all the rest of England and Wales on the 3d and 10th of June following, upon penalty of being profecuted in the ecclefiaftical commission.* For this purpose the bishops were required to cause it to be distributed throughout their respective dioceses: some or them (says Burnet) carried their compliance to a shameful pitch, offering up their allegiance to the king without limitation or referve. Dr. Crew, bishop of Durham, Barlow of Lincoln, Cartwright of Chester, Wood of Lichfield and Coventry, Watson of St. David's, Sprat of Rochester, and Parker of Oxford, went all the lengths of the court, and promoted addresses of thanks to his majesty in the most exalted language, for the promise he had made in his late declaration, to maintain the church of England as by law established; & though nothing was more evident than his defign to subvert it. An address came from the clergy of Chefter, justifying the declaration, as issuing

* Gazette, No. 2344.

† Dr. Grey thinks that bishop Barlow could not be so forward a promoter of such addresses, because that in a letter to one of his clergy, dated May 29th, he informed him, that the clergy in London generally resused to read the declaration: and added, "as to myself, I shall neither persuade nor dissuade you, but leave it to your prudence and conscience, whether you will or not read it. But only this I shall advise, that if, after serious consideration, you find that you cannot read it but reluctante wel dubitante conscientia, in that case to read it will be your sin, and you to blame for doing it." Notwithstanding, bishop Barlow wrote so candidly on the matter, in this instance, he sent up a letter of thanks to king James for his first declaration, published reasons for reading the second, and afferted and vindicated, in an elaborate tract, the regal power of dispensing with penal laws. This bishop was not a consistent character; he was timid and complying, accommodating himself to the times, and ready to side with the strongest. At one time he was a seeming friend to the papists, then a distinguished writer against popery. Now an enemy to the duke of York; then ever expressing his submission to king James; and afterwards taking the oaths to his successors. Biogr. Britan. vol. i. article Barlow. Godwin de Præsulibus, p. 305. Ed.

from the prerogative of the king's supremacy, and insisting that the clergy were obliged by what is called statute law, the rubrick of their liberty, to publish what was required by the king, or their bishop, and therefore they were troubled to hear of the disobedience of some of that bench, who, though they tenderly promifed the diffenters fomething, yet refused to do their part about the declaration, lest they should be parties to it; which reason we with due modesty esteem insufficient. Herbert Croft, bishop of Hereford, published his reasons for reading the declaration, from that passage of fcripture, " Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the "Lord's sake, whether it be to the king as supreme, &c. "Now the king commanding it to be read, without re-" quiring our affent, confent, or allowance, I cannot fee (fays "the bishop) how it can be refused. If it be said, this is to " admit of a dispensing power, yet it is not contrary to the "word of God. If the king should aver his dispensing " power to be inherent in the crown, and will use it as he of pleafes, I should befeech him not to exert it in so high a "manner; but after this, what have bishops to do but subof mit, fince here is no doctrine affirmed, but only a declara-"tion of matter of fact."

However, the majority of the clergy were of different fentiments; eighteen bishops, and the chief of their clergy, refused to publish the declaration, so that it was read (says Burnet*) only in seven churches in London; and in about two hundred all over England.† The commissioners for eccle-siastical affairs sent out citations by the king's order, requiring the chancellors and archdeacons to send in lists of all who had obeyed, and of those who had not obeyed the order of council; together with the places where it had been neglected.‡ Most of the bishops disobeyed, and generously undertook to stand in the gap, and screen the inferior clergy

* Page 178.

[†] Some who read it on the first Sunday, changed their minds before the fecond. Others declared in their sermons, that, though they obeyed the order, they did not approve the declaration. And one, more pleasantly than gravely, told his people, that though he was obliged to read it, they were not obliged to hear it; and stopped till they all went out, and then read to the walls. Burnet's History, vol. iii. p. 178. Ep.

from profecution: feven of them met at Lambeth, and after confultation figned an address, in behalf of themselves and feveral of their absent brethren, setting forth, "that they " were not averse to the publishing his majesty's declaration " for want of duty to his majesty, or due tenderness towards " diffenters, in relation to whom (fay they) we are willing " to come to fuch a temper as shall be thought fit, when the " matter comes to be confidered and fettled in parliament; " but the declaration, being founded on fuch a dispensing " power as may at present set aside all laws ecclesiastical and " civil, appears to us illegal, and did fo to the parliament in " 1672; and it is a point of fuch great consequence, that we " cannot make ourselves party to it, so far as the reading of it in the church in time of divine fervice will amount " to, and distributing it all over the kingdom." Signed by Sancroft archbishop of Canterbury, Lloyde bishop of St. Afaph, Kenn of Bath and Wells, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chichester, White of Peterborough, and Trelawny of Bristol. The king was startled at the address, and answered, in a very angry tone; "I have beard of this before, but did not be-

* Burnet, p. 176. Welwood's Memoirs, p. 184, 6th ed.

" lieve it; I did not expect this from the church of England, " especially from some of you; if I change my mind you shall hear

† Archbishop Sancroft, in this instance, acted contrary to what had been his conduct and avowed principle in the former reign. For when, in 1681, Charles II. published his declaration to fatisfy his people about disfolving his parliament, Sancroft moved that an order should be added to it, requiring the clergy to publish it in all the churches in England. This was looked on (fays Burnet) as a most pernicious precedent, by which the clergy were made the heralds to publish the king's declarations, that might, in fome inflances, come to be not only indecent, but mischievous. But this, whatever was now his judgment, had been his decided opinion. For, on the present occasion, Dr. Cartwright, the bishop of Chester, who had been one of the prebendaries of Durham, it appears, from a paper among the MSS. of Mr. Talents, of Shrewsbury, which fell into the hands of Mr. Archer, of Tunbridge, could produce, and did shew to the king, a revised copy of the liturgy in 1661, given by bishop Cosins to the library at Durham; in which Sancroft had added to the rubrick, where it was said, "Nothing is to be read in churches but by the bishop's order, or the king's "order." Yet, when king James commanded a declaration in favour of the diffenters to be read, this archbishop was amongst the first to oppose it, in contradiction to the clause which he had dictated, and the example he had given. Calamy's History of his own Life, vol. i. p. 173-6. En.

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from me; if not, I expect my commands shall be obeyed." And added, that they should be made to feel what it was to disabey him. The fix bishops who brought the address re-

plied, The will of God be done.

Let the reader now judge, whether the flavish doctrine of non-resistance and unlimited obedience, which the high church party had been preaching up for above twenty years as the doctrine of the church of England, had not brought the nation to the very verge of ruin. A doctrine destructive of all law, and of the safety of society, and which has been fatal to many crowned heads. If the king had not relied on the flattering addresses of these men, under which it seems there was a reserve, he would have stopt short, and taken other measures; but he did not perceive the mine till it was sprung, and blew up his whole government at once. This was the crisis upon which the fate of the nation depended.

While the king was deliberating what to do with the bishops, he was for some time in great perplexity; several of the popish nobility pressed him to retreat; but at length, at the instigation of father Fetre, Mr. Lob, and some others, he ordered the bishops to be prosecuted; and they, refusing to enter into bonds for their appearance at the King's-Bench bar, on account of their peerage, were sent to the Tower by water, June 8, but were discharged within a week, upon entering into bonds for small sums, to answer to the information that day fortnight. On the 29th of June they were brought to the King's-Bench bar in Westminster-hall, at-

* Burnet, p. 177.

tended

[†] The bishops, as they took boat, looked all very cheerfully: and the people slocked round them in great numbers, to condole with them, and ask their blessing. When they were consined, ten non-conformist ministers visited them. Which the king took very heinously, and sent for four of them, and reprimanded them. Their answer was, "that they could not but adhere to the bishops, as men constant and sirm to the protestant faith." Even the soldiers that kept guard would frequently drink health to the bishops; and when an order was sent to the captain of the guard, to see it was done no more, the reply was, "that the soldiers were doing it at the very instant, and would, during the imprisonment of the bishops, drink no other health." So that in an early stage of this prosecution, one of the privy council owned, "that had the king known how far the thing would have gone, he had never enjoined the reading the declaration in the churches." Reresby's Memoirs, p. 261-62. Ep.

mon people; and, after a long trial of ten hours, were acquitted: upon which there was a general joy, and fuch loud acclamations, as resounded not only in the city, but even in

the army at Hounflow.

The bishops address was printed by authority, with a satyrical paraphrase, setting forth, that though the bishops had, without any bowels of tenderness, exercised many inhuman cruelties upon the dissenters, they promise now to come to a temper, but it is only such an one as they themselves should settle in convocation; and though they had all along vigorously endeavoured to advance above all law that arbitrary power upon which they suppose his majesty's declaration was founded, when it could be strained to the oppression of dissenters, yet now they oppose it, and are desirous in this juncture (as in the year 1672) that the laws for persecution should retain their force, and the dispensing power not be countenanced, though designed for a general good.

But this was too late, the controversy between the court and the church was now no longer to be decided by the pen;

[&]quot;There were," Dr. Welwood observes, "two remarkable things in this "trial. King James saw the illegality of his new assumed prerogative exposed on one of the most solemn causes, in Westminster-hall, before one of the greatest auditories, by the council of the bishops; who boldly and learnedly argued against the dispensing power, and proved it, by invincible arguments, to be an open violation of the laws and constitution of the kingdom." Another remarkable circumstance was, "that they, who had contributed to enslave their country by false notions of law, now changed their opinion; and others who through two successive parliaments had, at the expence of their own sufferings, stood up for the liberty of their country, did now endeavour to stretch the prerogative beyond its just limits, as they had before opposed it. So hard is it for mankind to be, at all times, and upon all turns, constant to themselves." Welwood's Memoirs, p. 185-6. Ep.

The bishops were complimented on their victory, in the highest manner, by all orders of men. They were ranked with the primitive confessors, and loaded with praises: they were compared to the seven golden candlesticks, and to the seven stars in Christ's right hand. Their pictures were publickly sold in all print-seller's shops, and bought up in vast numbers, as guardians of the laws, liberties, and religion, of their country. Their conduct affected king James more than any other opposition he met with. Dr. Grey's Examination, vol. iii. p. 420-21. And, on the day after the trial, he was observed to labour under a very great disturbance of mind. Sir John Reresby's Memoirs, p. 264. Ed.

and it was apparent beyond contradiction, that the hearts of the people were alienated from the king; even the dissenters (fays Eachard) shewed an unusual readiness to join the church against their common enemy; and whatever might be in the hearts of some, the church party continued to discover an equal willingness to coalesce with the dissenters. When Dr. Lloyde, bishop of St. Asaph, passed through Oswestry, in Shropshire, he sent for Mr. James Owen, the dissenting minister, and ventured to acquaint him with the secret of the prince of Orange's invitation by some great persons, in which he had joined; and added, He hoped the protestant dissenters would concur in promoting the common interest, for you and we are brethren (says he;) we have indeed been angry brethren, but we have seen our folly, and are resolved, if ever we have it in our power, to show that we will treat you as brethren.

Even archbishop Sancroft, in the circular letter which he sent to the clergy of his province, exhorted them to cultivate a good correspondence with the differents. The eleventh article of his letter,* dated July 16, has these words, "That they (viz. the clergy) should walk in wisdom towards "them who are not of our communion; and if there be in 66 their parishes any such, that they neglect not frequently to converse with them in the spirit of meekness, feeking 66 by all good ways and means to gain and win them over to our communion; more especially that they have a tender " regard to our brethren the protestant dissenters; that upon occasion offered they visit them at their houses, and receive "them kindly at their own, and treat them fairly wherever "they meet them, perfuading them (if it may be) to a full compliance with our church; or at least, that whereunto e we have already attained, we may all walk by the fame

|| Calamy's Abridgments, vol. i. p. 385.

^{*} One of the articles of this letter enjoined the clergy, four times at least in the year, to teach the people, in their sermons, "that the king's power being in his dominions highest under God, all priests should, upon all occions, persuade the people to loyalty and obedience to his majesty, in all things lawful, and to patient submission in the rest, promoting, as far as in them lies, the publick peace and quiet of the world," This was a renewal of certain orders, issued out to the several bishops of their provinces, with the king's consent, by the archbishops of Canterbury and York, Aug. 4th, 1622, and repeated in the reign of Charles II. High Church Politicks, p. 84. Ed. "rule,

" rule, and mind the fame things; and in order thereunto, " that they take opportunities of affuring and convincing

them, that the bishops of this church are really and sincerely " irreconcileable enemies to the errors, superstitions, idolatries,

and tyrannies of the church of Rome; and that the very un-" kind jealousies which some have had of us to the contrary

"were altogether groundless. And in the last place, that

"they warmly and affectionately join us in daily fervent " prayer to the God of Peace, for an universal bleffed union of

" all reformed churches at home and abroad against our common " enemy." Such was the language of the church in distress!

It was often faid, That if ever God should deliver them out of their present distress they would keep up their domestick quarrels no more; * which were fo visibly, and yet artfully managed by our adversaries, as to make us devour one another. Again, "I do affure you, and I am certain I have the best " grounds in the world for my affurance, (fays one) that the " bishops, when the happy opportunity shall offer itself, will " let the protestant diffenters find that they will be better "than their word given in their famous petition." + Remarkable are the words of another reverend divine on the fame occasion: "The bishops have under their hands declared "their dispositions to come to a temper in matters of con-" formity, and there feems to be no doubt of their fincerity. " If ever God brings us into a fettled state out of the storms " into which our passions and folly, as well as the treachery " of others, have led us, it cannot be imagined that the " bishops will go off from those moderate resolutions which "they have now declared; and they continuing firm, the " weak and indifcreet passions of any of those inferior clergy " must needs vanish. And I will boldly say, that if the " church of England, after she has got out of this storm, will " return to hearken to the peevisbness of some sour men, she " will be abandoned both of God and man, and will fet heaven " and earth against her. The nation sees too clearly how " dear the dispute about conformity has cost us to stand upon "fuch punctilios; and those in whom our deliverance is " wrapt up judge too right, that ever they will be priest-" ridden in this point. And if any argument was wanting

+ Calamy's Abridg. vol. i. p. 386. * Burnet, p. 142. VOL. V.

"to conclude the certainty of this point, the wife and gene"rous behaviour of the main body of the dissenters in this pre"fent juncture has given them so just a title to our friendship,
"that we must resolve to set all the world against us if we
can ever forget it; and if we do not make them all the re"turns of ease and savour when it is in our power to do it."

The reader has now feen the various and strong affurances of favour, given by the church party in distress, to the non-conformists, all which, in a few months, entirely evaporated. Nevertheless, I am fully of opinion, that the low church clergy meant honestly, and designed to be as good as their word; for which purpose a scheme was proposed to review and amend the liturgy by corrections and additions, and leaving some few ceremonies indifferent; but there was another party which lay behind the curtain, and meant no more by their protestations and promises, than to deliver themselves out of trouble; who, as they renounced the doctrine of non-refistance only to serve their turn, when that was effected, they feemed willing to forget what they had done, and were defirous of becoming as cruel perfecutors as ever; they were enemies to revolution principles; and when the prince of Orange had refcued them, they would have fent him back from whence he came; these men were afterwards diftinguished by the names of non-jurors, jacobites, and high-fliers, whose numbers were greater than the low church clergy imagined. They prevailed in convocation, intimidated the friends of liberty and moderation, and put an effectual ftop to all further attempts of a general comprehension.+

While the bishops were in the Tower, and the princess Anne at Bath, the queen was declared to be delivered of a prince on Sunday, June 10, between the hours of nine and ten in the morning. This mysterious birth was conducted with great artistice or great imprudence; no care had been taken to satisfy the protestant part of the nation, that the queen was with child, though it was ridiculed in pamphlets dispersed about Whitehall. None of the protestant ladies were admitted to be with her when she changed her linen; nor to see the milk in her breasts, nor to feel the child move within her; but

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^{*} Calamy's Abridg. vol. i. p. 426. † Ibid. p. 384, note.

all about her were Italian women. The place where her majesty was to lie in, was unknown till a few days before her delivery; and it was oddly circumstanced as to time. most of the protestant ladies being out of the way, and preparing for church; the Dutch ambaffador, then in town, was not called to be a witness, on behalf of the princess of Orange, the presumptive heir; all being finished in about two hours. The birth was attended with great rejoicings of the popish party; a day of publick thanksgiving was appointed, on which occasion a form of thanksgiving was prepared by the bishop of Rochester; and a new set of con-

gratulations fent up from all parts of the kingdom.

Bishop Burnet, Mr. Eachard, and others, have examined into the legitimacy of this birth with all possible exactness, but they have left, the matter under great uncertainties.-Some have pronounced it supposititious, and no better than the last desperate effort of the populh party to perpetuate their religion. Others, who credited the birth, have affigned very plaufible reasons to suspect, that the present pretender was not the queen's child, but another's clandestinely substituted. Bishop Burnet is of opinion, that the proofs of its legitimacy were defective. However, all the hopes of a protestant successor seemed now at an end, and the joys of the papilts confummated, the English reformation was expiring, and nothing short of a total subversion of the civil

and ecclefiaftical establishment to be expected.

The princess of Orange being thus cut off from the succession, his highness gave greater attention to the advices he received from England of the queen's having miscarried some? months before, and that therefore the present child must be supposititious. The church party, being driven by distress t from their favourite doctrine of non-resistance, fled with others to the prince of Orange as their last refuge, and prayed him to come over to their rescue; with this view admiral Russel, and several eminent persons, repaired to the Hague on various plaufible pretences, but in reality to invite the prince, and concert measures with him for his expedition to England; who received them favourably, and discovered a good disposition to espouse their cause, considering that his own right to the crown was now loft, and that if popery E 2

was established in England, Holland and the rest of the reformed interest must be exposed to the utmost hazard. Little persuasion was wanting to prevail with the states-general to assist the English protestants; but all the difficulty was to keep it secret, while they were preparing for so critical an undertaking. The States made use of the differences about the election of an archbishop of Cologn as a reason to form an army for the security of their own borders; and the prince, who had the administration in his hands, set himself under this cover to prepare all necessaries for his intended embarkation, while Mr. Zuylestein brought him from time to time the strongest assurances of the disposition of the body of the English protestants to appear for him at his

landing, which fully fixed him in his purpofe.

But the French ambassador at the Hague kept a watchful eye upon the prince's motions, and gave timely notice of the extraordinary preparations for war that were making in Holland, to his master Louis XIV. from whom king James had the first intelligence. Mr. Skelton, the English envoy at Paris, also wrote five or fix letters to court on the same head, but king James gave little heed to his advices, because the prince of Orange carried it in a most courteous and respectful manner, complimenting his majesty on the birth of the prince of Wales, and causing his name to be added to the rest of the princes of the royal family to be prayed for in his chapel. However, the French king continued to alarm the court of England with the intended invasion, and offered to fend over fifteen thousand men, or as many more as should be wanted to his affiftance; but the earl of Sunderland, who had lately complimented the king with his religion, prevailed with his majesty not to transport an army of French papists into his dominions, left it should confirm the suspicions of the protestants, that he defigned the overthrow of their religion and liberties.*

The king, being at length convinced of the prince of Orange's defign, ordered the fleet to be fitted out, and the army to be augmented; and dispatched orders to Tyrconnel to send hither several regiments from Ireland, which put the people under terrible apprehensions of an Irish massacre.

* Burnet, p. 217.

September 21, his majesty issued out his proclamation for the meeting of a new parliament, " intimating his royal " purpose to endeavour a legal establishment of an universal " toleration, and inviolably to preserve the church of England " in possession of the several acts of uniformity, as far as they " were confistent with such a toleration.* And further to " quiet the minds of his protestant subjects, he was content "that the Roman catholicks should remain incapable of be-"ing members of the house of commons, that so the legisla-" ture might continue in the hands of protestants." Sept. 23, the king was further affured by letters from the marquis of Abbeville at the Hague, that penfionary Fagel had owned the design of the prince of Orange to invade England,§ Upon which the king turned pale and speechless for a while, and like a distracted man looked round every way for relief. but was refolute in nothing. He postponed the meeting of ' the parliament, and by advice of his council applied to the bishops then in town for advice what was necessary to be done to make the church easy. The bishops moved him to annul the ecclesiastical commission, and the dispensing power: to recal all licences and faculties for papifts to keep schools, to probibit the four pretended vicars apostolical invading the ecclesiastical jurisdiction; to fill the vacant bishopricks; to restore the charters, and to call a free and regular parliament, by which the church of England might be secured, according to the act of uniformity; and provision made for a due liberty of conscience. Pursuant to this advice the king and court began to tread backward, concluding, that if they could fatisfy the bishops, and recover the affection of the church, all would do well. The bishop of London's suspension was taken off, the ecclesiastical commission dissolved, the city charter and the fellows of Magdalen-college were restored, and other illegal practices renounced; + but upon news of the prince of Orange's fleet being dispersed by a storm, and that they would hardly be able to put to fea again till next fpring, his majefty withdrew his hand from any further redress of grievances.

But the prince having repaired the damages of the storm, failed a second time, November 1, and after a remarkable passage, in which the wind chopped about almost miracu-

^{*} Gazette, No. 2384. § Ibid. No. 2386. † Ibid. 2388, 2391.

loufly in his favour,* landed at Torbay, November 5, with about fourteen thousand men, without meeting the king's fleet, which was at fea in order to intercept them. The prince brought over with him a declaration, dated Oct. 10, divided into twenty-fix articles, but reducible to three principal heads, 1. An enumeration of the publick grievances, with regard to religion and civil government. 2. The fruitless attempts which had been made to redress those grievances; under which mention is made of the fuspicious birth of the pretended prince of Wales. 3. A protestation that the present expedition was intended for no other purpose than to procure a free and lawful parliament; to which the prince would refer the redrefs of all the grievances complained of; and for the obtaining fuch a parliament, his bighness declares, he had been most earnestly solicited by a great many lords both spiritual+ and temporal, and by many gentlemen

Burnet's Hiftory, vol. iii. p. 252. Edin. edit. 12mo. Fo.

† Dr. Grey, though he cannot deny that the prince of Orange averred, in his declaration, that he was invited over by lords spiritual, yet is not inclined to admit the fact. He quotes, with a view to invalidate it, some letters from Sir Jonathan Trelawney, bishop of Winchester, written to Mr. Eachard in the years 1716, and 1718-19: in which this concurrence of the bishops, and of themselves, in the invitation to the prince of Orange, is absolutely denied. To these affertions is added a memorandum, made by Sir Jonathan Trelawney, of a conversation which he had with Mr. Francis Robarts, son to the earl of Radnor, shortly after the king's coronation, on this point: who said, that he had asked commissary William Harbord, that came over with the prince, whether it was true that the bishops had taken a part in that invitation? To which Harbord answered with a curse, No, they were not so honest. But I caused it to be put in to raise a jea"lousy and hatred on both sides, that king James believing it, might never forgive them; and they, searing he did believe it, might be provoked,

^{*} Bishop Burnet, who minutely describes the circumstances of the prince of Orange's landing, says, that though he was never inclined to superstition, but rather to be philosophical on all occasions, yet, the strange ordering of the winds and seasons to change, just as their affairs required it, made a deep impression on himself, and on all who observed it. The famous verses of Claudian seemed to be more applicable to the prince, than to him on whom they were made:

[&]quot; O nimium dilecte Deo, cui militat æther,

[&]quot; Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti.

[&]quot;Heaven's favourite, for whom the skies do fight, And all the winds conspire to guide thee right."

gentlemen, and other subjects of all ranks, to come over to England; and to encourage the protestant dissenters, his high-ness adds, that he would recommend to the parliament the making such new laws, as might establish a good agreement between the church of England and all protestant non-conformists, and in the mean time would suffer such as would live peaceably to enjoy all due freedom in their consciences.

The king, who had relied too much on the clergy's professions of unlimited obedience, being surprised at the expression in the prince's declaration, that he had been invited by the lords spiritual, sent for the bishops then in town, and infifted not only upon their disowning the fact, but upon their figning a paper, expressing their abhorrence of the intended invasion; but they excused themselves only with a general profession of their allegiance and duty. The church party (fays Burnet |) now shewed their approbation of the prince's expedition in fuch terms that many were surprised at it both then, and fince that time; they spoke openly in favour of it; they expressed their grief to see the wind so cross, and wished for a protestant wind that might bring the prince His majesty therefore finding himself deceived in the church party, and that he had no other reliance but his army, used all imaginable diligence to strengthen it; in obedience to the orders already given, two thousand five hundred men [chiefly papifts] were landed at Chefter from Ireland.— Commissions were given out for raising ten new regiments of horse and foot. Three thousand Scots were ordered from that country. All the militia were commanded to be in readiness to march on the first summons; and a proclamation was iffued out, requiring all horses and cattle to be removed twenty miles from those parts of the sea-coast, where it was apprehended the prince would land; but fo great was the people's disaffection that they paid little regard to his majesty's orders.

[&]quot;for their own fafety, to wish and help on his ruin." Against these authorities, it is to be observed that bishop Burnet asserts, that the earl of Danby drew in the bishop of London to join in the design of bringing over the prince of Orange: and that Trelawney, besides going into it, engaged also his brother, the bishop of Bristol, into it. Grey's Examination, vol. iii. p. 422, and Burnet, vol. iii. p. 214, 15. Ed.

Soon after his highness's landing, the body of the nation discovered their inclinations so evidently, that the king lost both head and heart at once. The city of London was in confusion; reports were spread that the Irish would cut the throats of the protestants throughout the nation in one and the fame night, which awakened the people's fears, and kept them all night on their guard. When this fright was allayed, the mob rose and pulled down the mass bouses, and burnt the materials in the streets; father Petre, with the fwarms of priests and jesuits who had flocked about the court, disappeared, and retired into foreign parts; and several of the king's arbitrary ministers, who had brought him under these difficulties, forfook him and absconded. Jefferies was taken in Wapping in a failor's habit, and would have been torn in pieces by the mob if he had not been conducted by a strong guard to the Tower, where he died before he came to his trial. The unhappy king, being left in a manner alone, retired with a small retinue to his army at Salisbury.

The prince of Orange, having refreshed his forces, marched from Torbay to Exeter, where the nobility and gentry figned an affociation to support and affift his highness in pursuing the ends of his declaration, and that if any attempt was made on his person it should be revenged on all by whom, or from whom it should be made. Great numbers of common people came in to the prince at Exeter; and as foon as he marched forward towards London, prince George of Denmark, the dukes of Ormand, Grafton, lord Wharton, Churchil, and others of the first distinction, deferted the army at Salisbury, and joined the prince, with a great many protestant officers and soldiers; fo that his majesty perceived, that even the army, which was his last refuge, was not to be relied on; and to compleat his unhappiness, princess Anne, his younger daughter, withdrew privately from court, with the bishop of London, who put on his buff coat and fword, and commanded a little army for her highness's defence.

Dr. Finch, fon to the earl of Winchelsea, and warden of All-Souls college in Oxford, was sent to the prince from some of the heads of colleges, to invite him to Oxford, and to assure him they were ready to declare for him, and that their plate should be at his service. The prince intended to have

accepted

accepted their invitation, but all things being in a ferment at-London, he was advised to make all the haste thither that he could.* So he fent to Oxford to excuse his visit, and to offer them the Association, which was figned by almost all the heads, and the chief men of the university; even by those who being disappointed in the preferments they aspired to, became afterwards his most implacable enemies. + Archbishop Sancroft also sent his compliments to the prince, and with feven or eight other bishops, figned the affociation, having changed the word revenge into that of punishment. This was a fudden turn (fays the bishop) from those principles which they had carried fo high a few years before. The diffenters went cheerfully into all the prince's measures, and were ready to fign the affociation: there were few or no jacobites or non-jurors among them; and throughout the whole course of king William's reign, they were among his most loyal and zealous subjects.

In this critical juncture, the queen and the young prince of Wales were fent to France, December 9, the king himfelf following the latter end of the month, having first caused the writs for calling a new parliament to be burnt, and the great feal to be thrown into the Thames. | After his majesty's first attempt to leave the kingdom he was seized at Feversham, s and prevailed with to return back to London; but when the prince resolved to come to Whitehall, and fent his majesty a message, that he thought it not consistent with the peace of the city, and of the kingdom, for both of them to be there together; his majesty retired a second time to Rochester with the prince's consent, and after a week's stay in that place went away privately in a veffel to France, leaving a paper behind him, in which he declared that though he was going to feek for foreign affistance, he would not make use of it to overthrow the established religion or the laws of

^{*} Burnet, p. 257, 8. + Eachard, p. 1138. || Burnet, p. 260, 263.

[§] He was feized by Mr. Hunt, at that time a custom-house officer, who died so lately as the 24th of July, 1752, at Feversham. He boarded the ship in which the king was, by virtue of his office; and taking his majesty for a suspicious person, brought him ashore without knowing his quality; but was greatly terrified when he found it was the king.

Gentleman's Magazine for July, 1752, p. 337. ED.

Thus ended the short and unhappy reign of James II. and with him the male line of the royal house of Stuarts, a race of princes raised up by providence to be the scourge of these nations, for they were all chargeable with tyranny and oppression, favourers of popery, and invaders of the legal constitution of their country in church and state. They enfeebled the nation by encouraging licentiousness of manners, and funk a bold and brave people into

contempt among foreign powers.

Nothing could have been more fortunate for the prince of Orange than the king's flight from Rochester to France, which furnished a plausible occasion for the convention parliament to pass a vote, that the king had abdicated the crown, and that the throne was vacant; though it would have looked more like a voluntary defertion, if his majesty had gone off the first time from Feversham, and had not declared in the paper he left behind him, that he was going to feek for foreign affistance; it is certain the king was frightened away by his priefts, who possessed him with an apprehension that he was already a prisoner; and by his queen, who prevailed with him to confult his own and family's fafety, by leaving the kingdom for the prefent. Thus a great and powerful Mo-NARCH was in a few weeks reduced to a condition little better than that of a wandering pilgrim.*

The prince of Orange arrived at St. James's, December 18, and on the 21st following, the bishop of London, with feveral of the clergy, and some diffenting ministers, waited upon his highness to congratulate him upon the happy succefs of his glorious expedition; when his lordship acquainted his highness in the name of the clergy, that there were some of their diffenting brethren present, who were herein entirely of the same sentiments with themselves. But on the 2d of January about ninety of the non-conformist ministers attended the prince at St. James's in a distinct body, being introduced by the earl of Devonshire, and the lords Wharton and Wiltfbire; when the reverend Mr. Howe, in the name of the rest, assured his highness " of their grateful sense of his * hazardous and heroical expedition, which the favour of " heaven had made fo furprifingly prosperous. That they

^{*} Burnet, p. 274.

⁺ Calamy, p. 387.

se esteemed it a common felicity, that the worthy patriots of the nobility and gentry of this kingdom had unani-" moully concurred with his highness's designs, by whose " most prudent advice the administration of publick affairs was "devolved, in this difficult conjuncture, into hands which " the nation and the world knew to be apt for the greatest " undertakings, and fo fuitable to the prefent exigency of " our cafe. They promifed their utmost endeavours, in their " feveral stations, to promote the excellent and most desirable " ends for which his highness had declared. They added " their continual fervent prayers to the Almighty, for the " preservation of his highness's person, and the success of " his future endeavours for the defence and propagation of "the protestant interest throughout the christian world; " that they should all most willingly have chosen that time " for the feafon of paying their duty to his highness, when " the lord bishop and the clergy of London attended his "highness for the same purpose, (which some of them did, " and which his lordship was pleased condescendingly to " make mention of to his highness) had their notice of that " intended application been so early as to make their more " general attendance possible at that time. Therefore, "though they did now appear in a distinct company, it was " not on a diffinct account, but on that only which was " common to them, and to all protestants; and though there "were fome of their brethren of eminent note, whom age or present infirmities hindered from coming with them, " yet they concurred in the fame grateful fense of their " common deliverance." + His highness received them very favourably, and returned them the following answer: " My " great end was the prefervation of the PROTESTANT RE-" LIGION; and with the Almighty's affiftance and permission, " fo to defend and support the same, as may give it strength " and reputation throughout the world, fufficient to preferve it from the infalts and oppression of its most implacable " enemies; and that more immediately in these kingdoms " of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and I will use my ut-" most endeavours, so to settle aud cement all different " perfuafions of protestants in such a bond of love and com"munity as may contribute to the lasting security and enjoyment of spirituals and temporals to all sincere professors

of that holy religion."

In order to fettle the government, the prince published an order, defiring all persons who had served as knights, citizens, or burgesses, in any of the parliaments in the reign of king Charles II. to meet him at St. James's on Wednesday the 26th of December, at ten in the morning; and that the lord-mayor and court of aldermen of the city of London would be prefent, and fifty of the common-council.* This affembly defired the prince to take upon himfelf the administration of the government for the prefent; and a convention parliament was chosen with all expedition, in which various methods were proposed of fettling the government: fome were for compromising matters with king James, and others for a regency; but after long and warm debates the throne was declared vacant, king James having abdicated the government, and broken the original contract with his people. When the question was put, whether to fill the throne with a king, or to appoint a regent, it was carried for the former only by two voices, fifty-one being for a king, and forty-nine for a regent, among which latter were twelve or thirteen bishops, two only (viz.) the bishops of London and Bristol, being for a king; the reason of which was their reluctance to contradict the doctrine they had been fo long preaching, (viz.) that the regal power was jure divino, and his majesty's character indelible. They had indeed concurred in inviting the prince of Orange to come to the relief of their religion, but the storm being appealed, they thought it not incumbent on them wholly to depart from their old principles, and therefore voted for a regency; but the question being carried (fays bishop Burnet) nature was so strong in them that it was too hard for their doctrine. + And a declaration being prepared for afferting and vindicating the ancient rights and liberties of the fubject, the crown was offered to the PRINCE and PRINCESS of ORANGE, the latter of whom arrived from Holland the day before; and вотн having declared their acceptance, were proclaimed KING and QUEEN of England, &c. Feb. 13, 1688-9, and crowned at Westminster, April 11,

^{*} Gazette, No. 2414.

following, amidst the joyful acclamations of all the friends of

the protestant religion and liberties of their country.§

Thus a wonderful revolution was effected with little or no effusion of blood; and it is surprising to reslect on the remarkable appearances of Divine Providence in the rife, progress, and confummation of this important event; how the court of England and the Roman catholick powers were all infatuated or afleep, while the defign was forming; and when it was carrying into execution, how the winds were fubfervient, and the hearts of the people united till it was brought to maturity: and it will amaze all posterity to read the inconfistent and dishonourable part which the high church clergy and their friends acted on this occasion; for after they had preached their hereditary prince into a belief of their unlimited loyalty, and affured him in numberless addresses. that their lives and fortunes were absolutely at his service; and after the university of Oxford, by a solemn decree, had declared all manner of resistance damnable and infamous to the christian religion, they appeared among the first who refisted bim; and by opening A RESERVE which lay hid under their unbounded professions of duty and allegiance, let him fall into that pit out of which he could never escape. As soon as the jure diving king invaded the properties of the univerfities, and threatened to take down the fences of their ecclefiaftical preferments, they invited the prince of Orange with an armed force to their refcue; they figned an affociation to support and affift him; they offered him their plate, and

declared

Nhitehall to make a tender of their crown. On being introduced, they presented, according to the powers on which they acted, an address from the estates, the instrument of government, a recital of grievances, and a request that the convention might be converted into a parliament. The king having promised to concur with them in all just measures for the interest of the kingdom, the coronation oath was tendered to their majesties. His conduct on this occasion deserves particular notice: it was cautious and liberal. The oath contained a clause by which they should engage to root out beresy: the king demurred on this, and declared he would not oblige himself to act as a persecutor. The commissioners replying that such was not the meaning or import of the oath, he desired them and others present, to bear witness to the exception be made. Burnet's History, vol. iv. p. 34, 12mo. and Lindsey's Historical View of the State of Unitarianism, p. 303, note. Ed.

declared for him in a body, even while their fovereign was on the throne. Nevertheless, the moment they thought their power and preferments fecure, they would have retracted, and made up matters again with king James; they opposed the motion in the convention parliament for declaring the throne vacant; and when the government came to be fettled upon king WILLIAM and queen MARY, great numbers of them would not fubmit, and those who did acted a treacherous and dishonourable part to their GREAT DELIVERER, throughout the course of his reign. What inconsistencies are these! What oaths and declarations can hold men who burft fuch bands, and cut fuch facred cords afunder! The like must be observed as to their vows and promises to the non-conformists, all which were forgot or broken, as foon as the church was delivered. The differenters acted a more confistent part, for not being intangled with the same fetters, they went heartily into the revolution, and were among king William's best and steadiest friends, when others forsook and opposed him.

No fooner were king WILLIAM and queen MARY fettled on the throne, than the diffenting ministers in and about the city of London waited on their majesties with an address of congratulation, when Dr. Bates at their head made the

two following speeches:

To the KING.

" May it please your majesty,

"THE feries of fuccessful events which have attended vour glorious enterprize for the faving these kingdoms " from fo imminent and destructive evils, has been fo emi-" nent and extraordinary, that it may force an acknowledg-" ment of the Divine Providence from those who deny it, " and cause admiration in all who believe and reverence it. "The beauty and speed of this happy work are the bright " fignatures of his hand, who creates deliverance for his ec people: the less of human power, the more of divine wif-"dom and goodness has been conspicuous in it. If the de-" liverance had been obtained by fierce and bloody battles, "victory itself had been dejected and fad, and our joy had "been mixed with afflicting bitterness; but as the fun af-" cending

" cending the horizon dispels without noise the darkness of " the night, so your serene presence has, without tumults, " and diforders, chased away the darkness that invaded us. "In the fense of this astonishing deliverance we defire with " all possible ardency of affection to magnify the glorious. " name of God, the author of it, by whose entire efficacy, "the means have been successful; and we cannot without a " warm rapture of thankfulness recount our obligations to " your majesty, the happy instrument of it. Your illustrious " greatness of mind, in an undertaking of fuch vast expence, "your heroick zeal in exposing your most precious life in "fuch an adventurous expedition, your wife conduct, and "unshaken resolution in prosecuting your great ends, are "above the loftiest flights of language, exceed all praise. "We owe to your majesty the two greatest and most va-" luable bleffings that we can enjoy, the preservation of the " true religion, our most facred treasure; and the recovery of " the falling state, and the establishing it upon just foundations. "According to our duty, we promife unfeigned fidelity, " and true allegiance to your majesty's person and govern-" ment. We are encouraged by your gracious promise upon " our first address, humbly to desire and hope, that your " majesty will be pleased, by your wisdom and authority, to " establish a firm union of your protestant subjects in matters " of religion, by making the rule of christianity to be the "rule of conformity. Our bleffed union in the purity and " peace of the gospel will make this church a fair and lovely "type of heaven, and terrible to our antichristian enemies: "This will make England the steady centre from whence " a powerful influence will be derived for the support of " reformed christianity abroad. This will bring immortal "honour to your name, above the trophies and triumphs " of the most renowned conquerors. We do assure your " majefly, that we shall cordially embrace the terms of union " which the ruling wisdom of our Saviour has prescribed in "his word. We shall not trespass further on your royal " patience, but shall offer up our fervent prayers to the "King of Kings, that he will please to direct your majesty " by his unerring wisdom, and always incline your heart to " his glory, and encompass your facred person with his fa" vour as with a shield, and make your government an uni-" verfal bleffing to these kingdoms."

To which his majesty was graciously pleased to make the following answer:

" I TAKE kindly your good wishes, and whatever is in " my power shall be employed for obtaining such an union among you. I do assure you of my protection and kindness."

To the QUEEN.

" May it please your Majesty,

"YOUR happy arrival into your native country, and es accession to the crown, has diffused an universal joy through "this kingdom. It is an auspicious sign of publick felicity, " when supreme virtue, and supreme dignity, meet in the " same person. Your inviolable firmness in the profession of "the truth, and exemplary piety, are the most radiant jewels 66 in your crown. The luftre of your conversation, un-" stained in the midst of tempting vanities, and adorned with 66 every grace, recommends religion as the most honourable and amiable quality, even to those who are averse from "hearing fermons, and apt to despise serious instructions and excitations to be religious. We humbly defire, that " your majesty would be pleased, by your wisdom and good-" ness, to compose the differences between your protestant " fubjects in things of less moment concerning religion.-"We hope those reverend persons who conspire with us in "the main end, the glory of God and the publick good, " will confent to the terms of union wherein all the reformed "churches agree. We shall fincerely address our requests " to God, that he will please to pour down in a rich abun-"dance his bleffings upon your majefty's person and govern-"ment, and preferve you to his heavenly kingdom."

Her majesty was graciously pleased to answer,

" I WILL use all endeavours for the obtaining an " union that is necessary for the edifying of the church." " defire your prayers." Though

* This was in the spirit of a noble answer, which her majesty made to Dr. Increase Mather, who was introduced to her to solicit a new charter for New-England. He represented that her subjects in that country were generally

Though the joy that accompanied the revolution had a confiderable influence on the choice of representatives in parliament, yet there being no court to make interest among the people, it appeared that the late king had a party in both houses sufficient to perplex the government, who first proposed the choice of a new parliament, in order to throw the nation into a ferment; + but this being overruled, a bill was brought in, and passed, Jan. 23, to turn the present convention into a parliament, it being wifely concluded, that those who had fet the king on the throne, would be most zealous to maintain him there; but when the house was called over, and the members, required to take the oaths, eight bishops absented, (viz.) Dr. Sancrost archbishop of Canterbury, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chichester, Kenn of Bath and Wells, White of Peterborough, Thomas of Worceiter, Lloyde of Norwich, and Frampton of Gloucester; however, that they might recommend themselves by a shew of moderation, before they withdrew they moved the house of lords for a bill of toleration, and another of comprehenfion, which were drawn up accordingly by the earl of Nottingham, and were much the fame with those prepared for the house of commons in king Charles the second's time, during the debates about the bill of exclusion.

The clergy in general took the oaths, but it became visible that many among them took them only as oaths of submission to usurpers, with this reserve, that it was still lawful to assist king James, if he should attempt to recover the crown, and that he was still their king de jure, though the prince of Orange was king de facto, contrary to the plain meaning of the words; but the clergy broke through all these setters, (says the bishopt) to the reproach of their profession: and the prevarication of so many in so sacred a

nerally non-conformists, but carried it with all due respect to others: and added, that this nation had cause to bless God for the indulgence it now enjoyed under the king and her majesty. The queen answered, "It is aubat" I am for. It is not in the power of men to believe what they please; and "therefore, I think, they should not be forced in matters of religion, con-"trary to their persuasions and their consciences. I wish all good men were of one mind; however, in the mean time, I would have them live peace-"ably, and love one another." Increase Mather's Life, p. 49. ED.

[†] Burnet, vol. iv. p. 7, 8. Edin. Ed. 12mo. † Ibid. vol. iii. p. 303. vol. v. G matter,

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matter, contributed not a little to the atheism of the age. Indeed they had embarked fo far in their doctrines of ablolute submission, and the divine right of monarchy, that they knew not how to difengage themselves with honour or conscience. Many suffered the time limited for taking the oaths to elapse, and yet officiated afterwards contrary to law.-They threatened the church with a new feparation, which terrified the moderate clergy, and put a stop to all amendments of the liturgy for the ease of differents, left the nonjurors should gain over great numbers of the laity, by pretending to abide by the old liturgy, in opposition to the reformed one. Thus the non-conformists were fold to the jacobites, by the timidity of their real friends; for the high church party discovered an irreconcileable enmity to an accommodation, and feemed only to wish for an occasion to renew old feverities. Those who had moved for a comprehension, and brought the bill into the house of lords, acted a very difingenuous part, (fays Burnet*) for while they studied to recommend themselves, by seeming to countenance the bill, they fet on their friends to oppose it, representing the favourers of it as enemies to the church.

When the king came to the house, March 16, he made the following speech:

" My lords and gentlemen,

" NOW I have occasion of coming hither to pass these " bills, I shall put you in mind of one thing which will con-" duce much to our fettlement, as a fettlement will to the "disappointment of our enemies. I am, with all the expe-" dition I can, filling up the vacancies that are in the offices " and places of trust by this late revolution. I hope you " are fensible there is a necessity of some law to settle the " oaths to be taken by all perfons to be admitted to fuch " places. I recommend it to your care to make a speedy " provision for it; and as I doubt not but you will suffici-" ently provide against papists, fo I hope you will leave room " for the admission of all protestants that are willing and able " to ferve. This conjunction in my fervice, will tend to " the better uniting you among yourselves, and the strength-* Barnet, vol. iii. p. 302. + Gazette, No. 2436.

"ening you against your common enemies." It appears by this, that king William was for taking off the test, and abrogating the penal laws, as far as related to differning protestants, though the parliament were of another mind.

When a bill was brought into the house of lords, for abrogating the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and framing other oaths in their stead, a committee was appointed to insert a clause to take away the necessity of receiving the sacrament in order to make a man capable of enjoying any office, employment, or place of trust; but when the clause was reported to the house, it was rejected by a considerable majority, the earls of Stamford, and Chestersield, the lords Lovelace, Delamere, North and Grey, Wharton and Vaughan, entering their protests.*

After this another clause was offered, by which it was provided, that such should be sufficiently qualified for any office, who within a year before, or after their admission, did receive the sacrament, either according to the usage of the church of England, or in any other protestant congregation, and could produce a certificate under the hands of the minister, and two other creditable persons, members of such a congregation. The question being put, whether this clause should be a part of the bill, it passed in the negative; the lords Oxford, Lovelace, Wharton, Mordaunt, Montague, and Paget, entering their protests.

* The protests of the dissentient peers were grounded on the following reasons: "That an hearty union amongst protestants is a greater security to the church and state, than any test that could be invented: that this obsigation to receive the sacrament is a test on protestants rather than on papists: that so long as it is continued, there could not be that hearty and thorough union amongst protestants as has always been wished, and is at this time indispensably necessary: and lastly, that a greater caution ought not to be required from such as were admitted into offices, than from the members of the two houses of parliament, who were not obliged to receive the facrament to enable them to sit in either house." A Complete Collection of Protests, p. 62, 63, and Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 170, 171. Ed.

* One reason on which the lords protested, was, "That mysteries of re"ligion and divine worship are of divine original, and of a nature so wholly
distant from the secular affairs of publick society, that they can not be
applied to those ends: and therefore the church, by the law of the gospel,
as well as common prudence, ought to take care not to offend either
tender consciences within itself, or give offence to those without, by
mixing their sacred mysteries with secular interests." A Complete Collection of Protests, p. 64, 65. ED.

It was proposed further, in a committee of the house of lords, to dispense with kneeling at the sacrament, but when the question was put, whether to agree with the committee in leaving out the clause, the votes were equal, and so according to the usage of the house it passed in the negative.* The like sate attended the motion about the cross in baptism, and explaining the words assent and consent in subscription. Thus the several attempts for alterations in the church service, at a time when the legislature was in a temper for accommodating lesser differences, were frustrated by a rising party of jacobites and tories, who threatened the new government with a revolt unless they were humoured, and for fear of them, all promises of accommodation with the diffenters were of no avail.

Soon after a bill for toleration of protestant dissenters was brought into the house, and had an easy passage; though some proposed, that the act should be only temporary, as a necessary restraint, that the dissenters might so demean themselves, as to merit the continuance of it, when the term of years first granted should expire; but this was rejected.—Bishop Burnet says, that his zeal for this act lost him his credit with the church party, by which it appears they did

* Burnet, p. 15.

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^{+ &}quot; The act of toleration," remarks a late writer, " was another inter-" ference of the state to check the power of ecclesiastics, but without altering "the constitution of the church. Laymen had before declared what should " be deemed herefy in the spiritual courts, they now exempted some de-" scriptions of dissenters wholly from their jurisdiction, while all others, " and oppugners of the trinity by name, were expressly reserved for the per-" fecuting spirit of the church to operate upon." How truly then might Mr. Locke, writing to Limborch (Locke's Works, vol. iv. p. 406,) foor after the passing of this act fay, " Tolerantiam apud nos jam tandem iege " flabilitatam te ante bæc audiisse nullus dubito. Non ea forsun latitudine, " quâ tu et tui similes veri, et sine ambitione vel invidia, christiani optaerent. Sed aliquid est prodire tenus. Lis initiis jacta spero sunt libertatis. et pacis sundamenta, quibus stabilienda olim erat Christi ecclesia."-High Church Boliticks, p. 66. In English thus, " I doubt not before this " you have heard, that toleration is at last established here by law. Not " indeed with that latitude that you, and other christians like you, unam-"bitious, and unprejudiced, and lovers of truth might wish. But it is a great point to proceed so far. In these beginnings, I hope, are laid those " foundations of liberty and peace, on which the church of Christ will be " finally established." ED.

not much like it. It is entitled, an act for exempting their majesty's protestant jubjects diffenting from the church of England, from the penalties of certain laws therein mentioned. But the corporation and test acts were not inferted in this act, and therefore remain in full force: there is an exception likewise of such as deny the doctrine of the trinity; and quakers are excused taking the oaths to the government, upon their making a folemn declaration therein mentioned. This act excuses all protestant differents from the penalties of the laws therein mentioned, for not coming to church, provided they take the oaths and subscribe the declaration therein mentioned. And diffenting ministers are tolerated on the like conditions, and on their fubscribing the doctrinal articles of the church of England. But this being the basis and boundary of their present liberty, I have inserted the act

in the Appendix, No. XIII.

While the bill for a toleration was depending, a motion was made in the house of lords for a comprehension, which was received, and some progress made towards effecting it; but a proviso being offered, and pressed with great earnestness by some temporal lords, that in imitation of the acts passed in the reigns of king Henry VIII. and Edward VI. a number of persons, both of clergy and laity, might be empowered to prepare materials for fuch a reformation of the church as might be fit to offer the king and parliament, it was warmly debated, and at length rejected by a small majority. Bithop Burnets was against the proviso, for fear of offending the clergy, who would look upon it as taking the reformation out of their hands; but adds, "I was convinced " foon after that I had taken wrong meafures, and that the " method proposed by the lords was the only one like to " prove effectual." Dr. Tillotson, being of the same mind with Burnet, advised the king to refer the affair to a synod of divines, whose determinations he apprehended would stop the mouths of papifts, who reproached our reformation as built chiefly on parliamentary authority, and would be better received by the body of the clergy.

Accordingly it was agreed in council, that a felect number of learned divines, should be appointed by the royal mandate,

to meet and consult about the most proper methods of healing the wounds of the church; that their determinations should be laid before the convocation, and from thence receive the fanction of parliament. Agreeably to this resolution the king issued out a commission to thirty divines, of which ten were bishops, whose names were,

Dr. Lamplugh, abp. of York,
Compton, bp. London,
Mew, bp. Winchester,
Lloyd, bp. St. Asaph,
Sprat, bp. Rochester,
Smith, bp. Carlisle,
Sir Jonath. Trelawney, bp.
Exeter,
Dr. Burnet, bp. Sarum,
Humphreys bp. Bangor,
Stratford, bp. Chester.

To these were added the following divines,

Dr. Stilling fleet,	Dr. Alfton,	Dr. Beaumont,
Tillotfon,	Scot,	Goodman,
Sharp,	Grove,	Battely,
Aldridge,	Patrick,	Tennison,
Hall,	Maggot,	Fowler,
Montague,	Kidder,	Williams.
Beveridge,	Jane,	gray Shot all

Their commission was as follows:

"Whereas the particular forms of divine worship, and the rites and ceremonies appointed to be used therein, being things in their own nature indifferent and alterable, and so acknowledged, it is but reasonable that upon weighty and important considerations, according to the various exigencies of times and occasions, such changes and alterations should be made therein, as to those that are in place and authority should from time to time seem either necessary or expedient.

"And whereas the book of canons is fit to be reviewed, and made more fuitable to the state of the church; and whereas there are defects and abuses in the carles of itself activate and

"there are defects and abuses in the ecclesiastical courts and "jurisdictions; and particularly, there is not sufficient pro-"vision made for the removing of scandalous ministers, and

"for the reforming of manners, either in ministers or peo-"ple. And whereas it is most fit that there should be a "strict method prescribed for the examination of such per-

cc fons

" fons as defire to be admitted into holy orders, both as to

" their learning and manners;

"We therefore, out of our pious and princely care for " the good order, edification, and unity of the church of " England committed to our charge and care, and for the " reconciling as much as is possible of all differences among " our good subjects, and to take away all occasion of the like " for the future, have thought fit to authorize you, &c. or " any nine of you, whereof three to be bishops, to meet " from time to time as often as shall be needful, and to pre-" pare such alterations of the liturgy and canons, and such " proposals for the reformation of the ecclesiastical courts; and " to confider of fuch other matters as in your judgments

" may most conduce to the ends above-mentioned."*

The committee having affembled in the Jerusalem chamber, a dispute arose about the legality of their commission; Sprat bishop of Rochester, one of king James's ecclesiastical commissioners being of the number, they pretended to fear a pramunire, though there was not fo much as a shadow for fuch a pretence, the king's supremacy, if it means any thing, empowering him to appoint proper persons to prepare matters for the legislature: however, upon this debate, Mew bishop of Winchester, Sprat of Rochester, with Dr. Jane and Dr. Aldridge, withdrew. Some of them declared plainly, they were against all alterations whatsoever; they thought too much would be done for the diffenters, in granting them an act of toleration, and they would do nothing to make conformity easier. They faid further, that altering the customs and constitutions of the church, to gratify a peeville and obstinate party, was like to have no other effect than to make them more infolent. But was it ever tried? Did the convocation or parliament make a fingle abatement from the year 1662, to this time? If the experiment had been tried, and proved ineffectual, the blame might have been cast upon the dissenters; but to call them peevish and obstinate, without offering them any, even the smallest concessions, deserves no better a name than unjust calumny.— Was there no obstinacy and peevishness on the side of the church, in retreating from fo many promifes without a fingle

^{*} Life of Archbp. Tennison, p. 10, &c. & Burnet, vol. iv. p. 44.

offer? But it was faid further, that the church, by propofing these alterations, seemed to confess that she had hitherto been in the wrong, and that the attempt would divide them among themselves, and lessen people's esteem for the liturgy, if it appeared that it wanted correction. Such were the reasonings of these high divines, if they deserve the name, some of whom but a few months before had made the warmest

pretences to a fpirit of moderation.

It was alledged on the other fide, that if a few corrections or explanations were allowed, there was reason to hope it would bring over many of the people, if not the teachers themselves; at least, if the prejudices of the present dissenters were too strong, it might have a good effect on the next generation; nor could it be any reproach to the church, fince the offers were made only in regard to their weakness. Ritual matters were of an indifferent nature, and became neceffary in virtue only of the authority that enjoined them, therefore it was an unreasonable stiffness to deny any abatements, in order to heal the church's divisions. Great changes had been made by the church of Rome in her rituals; and among ourselves since the reformation, in the reigns of king Edward VI. queen Elizabeth, king James, and king Charles II. and it feemed necessary at this time to make the terms of communion as large as might be, that fo a greater number might be brought over, fince, by the act of toleration, they might diffent with fafety.

But while these matters were debating, the jacobite party took hold of the occasion to inflame men's minds against the government. It was pretended the church was to be pulled down, and presbytery established: the universities took fire, and declared against alterations, and against all who promoted them, as men who intended to undermine the hierarchy. Severe reflections were cast on the king himself, as not being in the interest of the episcopacy, for the cry of the church's danger was raifed by the enemies of the government, as that under which they thought they might fafely shelter their evil designs. Great interest was made in the choice of convocation men, to whom the determinations of the committee were to be referred, fo that it was quickly visible that the laudable defigns of the king and the ecclesiastical commissioners would prove abortive. However,

However, the committee continued their work till they had finished it; they had before them all the exceptions that either the puritans before the war, or the non-conformists fince the restoration, had made to the church service.* They had also many propositions and advices that had been suggested at several times, by many of our bishops and divines upon those heads; matters were well considered, and freely and calmly debated, and all was digefted into an entire correction, of every thing that feemed liable to any just exception. Dr. Nichols fays, they began with reviewing the liturgy, and first in examining the calendar; they ordered, in the room of the apocryphal lessons, certain chapters of canonical scripture to be read, that were more to the people's advantage; Athanasius's creed being disliked, by reason of the damnatory clauses, it was left to the ministers' choice to use it, or change it for the apostles' creed.+ New collects were drawn up, more agreeable to the epiftles and gospels, for the whole course of the year, with that elegance and brightness of expression, (fays the doctor) and such a slame of devotion, that nothing could more affect and excite the hearts of the hearers, and raife up their minds towards God; they were first prepared by Dr. Patrick; Dr. Burnet added to them farther force and spirit; Dr. Stilling fleet afterwards examined them with great judgment, carefully weighing every word in them; and Dr. Tillotson had the last hand, giving them some free and masterly strokes of his sweet and flowing eloquence. Dr. Kidder made a new version of the psalms, more agreeable to the original. Dr. Tennison made a collection of the words and expressions throughout the liturgy which had been excepted against, and proposed others in their room that were clear and plain, and less liable to exception—finging in cathedrals was to be laid afide—the apocryphal lessons were to be omitted, together with the legendary faints' days—the cross in baptism to be left to the choice of the parent—and kneeling at the facrament to be indifferent -the intention of lent fasts was declared to confist only in extraordinary acts of devotion, not in distinction of meatsthe word priest was to be changed for minister—the use of the furplice is left to the discretion of the bishop, who may

^{*} Burnet, p. 44.

⁺ Apparatus, p. 95, 96.

dispense with it, or appoint another to read the service—godfathers and godmothers in baptism may be omitted if desired,
and children presented in their parents' names—re-ordination
of those who had been ordained by presbyters was to be
only conditional—but these, with some other useful alterations in the litany, communion-service, and canons, will not
be known till the papers themselves are made publick.
However, these concessions and amendments would, in all
probability, have brought in three parts in four of the

diffenters.

While these things were debating in parliament, and among the commissioners, an address was presented, April 19, praying, that according to the antient custom and usage of the kingdom in time of parliament, his majesty would issue out his writ for calling a convocation of the clergy to be advised with in ecclesiastical matters, assuring his majesty, that it was their intention forthwith to proceed to the consideration of giving ease to the protestant dissenters; but when they met, it quickly appeared, that the high church party were superior to the moderate, by their choosing Dr. Jane,* who drew up the Oxford decree, prolocutor, in preference of Dr. Tillotson.† His majesty sent a letter or message by the earl

1 Calamy's Abridgment, vol. i. p. 452, 464. See also Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 182, 196.

The election of Dr. Jane to be prolocutor, as it shewed the sentiments and spirit of a great majority, so it was the principal occasion that nothing succeeded. For as soon as he got into the chair, he addressed the lower house in a speech, which, besides extolling the church of England above all other christian communities, he concluded with these words, "Nolumus leges Angliae mutare;" i. e. "We will not change the laws of England:" and, in the progress of the session he opposed every thing, that was intended or proposed by the royal commission. Bishop Compton's Life, p. 52; and Life of Dr. Prideaux, p. 54. The conclusion of the prolocutor's speech, it is excellently observed in a late valuable publication, was "to be admired from the mouth of an old English baron; consistent, perhaps, with the declaration of a conclave, if matters of faith and worship were in agitation there; but ill suited, to the greatest degree, on such an occasion, to the character of a protestant divine." Hints, &c. by a Layman, p. 27, 4th edition. Ep.

[†] It is disgraceful to human nature and painful to the generous mind, that the most liberal and excellent designs are deseated by revenge, and disappointed ambition. This was the case in the affair before us. The election of Dr. Jane was effected by the intrigues of two noble lords, who, being

of Nottingham, affuring them of his constant favour and protection, and that he had fummoned them, not only because it was usual upon holding parliaments, but out of a pious zeal to do every thing that might tend to the best establishment of the church of England, and desiring them to confider of fuch things as by his order should be laid before them, with a due and impartial zeal for the peace and good of the church. But there was no room for his majesty's interposition, the lower house of convocation quickly coming to a resolution, not to enter into any debates with relation to alterations; and it was not without difficulty carried to make a decent address to the king, thanking him for list promise of protection. And the address which the bishops fent down, acknowledging the protection which the protestant religion in general, and the church of England in particular, had received from his majesty, the lower house would not agree to it, because it imported their owning some common union with the foreign churches.* They would thank his majesty for his care to establish the church of England. whereby the interest of the protestant churches abroad would be better fecured, but would not infert the words, this and all other protestant churches, as the bishop had defired.

The bishop of London, in his answer to the prolocutor's speech, told them, that they ought to endeavour a temper of things not essential to religion; and that it was their duty

being disappointed in their expectation of advancement to some of the higher employments, after the revolution, on account of their relation to the queen, out of resentment contrived to have Dr. Jane called to the chair, that they might bassle what was intended by the convocation and so embarrass government. He was also, on the like principles, a man fit for their purpose. For having been resused the see of Exeter, before promised to bishop Trelationey, which he asked when he was sent from the university of Oxford to make an offer of their plate to the prince of Orange, he was so disgusted, that he became a professed enemy to king William. Life of Dr. Prideaux, p. 54, 56. Ed.

* This was the first foundation of the differences in the convocation, which have ever fince been kept up, to the grief of pious minds, and to the disgrace of the clergy. For the inferior clergy not agreeing to this address, another address was drawn up and presented to the king by the bishop of London, six of his brethren, and several doctors in divinity: who were so-lemmly introduced to his majesty, sitting on his throne in the banqueting-house, by the lord chamberlain. Bishop Compton's Life, p. 54, 55. Ed.

to shew the same indulgence and charity to the dissenters under king William, which some of the bishops and clergy had promised in their addresses to king James. But all these promises (says bishop Burnet) were entirely forgotten. It was in vain, therefore, to refer the amendments of the ecclessifical commissioners to a number of men, who had resolved to admit of no alterations; and it is thought that if the act of toleration had been left to their decision, it would have miscarried. The king, observing such a want of temper, broke up the sessions; and seeing they were in no disposition to do good, they were kept from doing mischief by prorogations for a course of ten years.

This was the last fruitless attempts for a comprehension of diffenters within the establishment; and such was the un-

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+ Bishop Compton closed his speech, which breathed a different spirit from that of Dr. Jane, with these words of Joseph to his brethren, "Ne multuamini in consiliis vestris;," thereby exhorting them to unanimity and concord. Bishop Compton's Life, p. 53. Ed.

If It marks the mischief and the evil of the spirit of opposition, that amongst the other instances in which the design of holding this convocation miscarried, was the failure of an attempt to restore family devotion. For a book, containing directions and forms for family-worship, was provided to be authorised by this convocation. It was left in the hands of Dr. Williams, bishop of Chichester, but has been since lost. Dr. Prideaux's Life, p. 61, 65. Ed.

§ I am tempted to give here the reflections of an admirable piece, which report ascribes to a noble pen. "The prolocutor's veto has hitherto proved " triumphant; and we have too much reason to apprehend, that, on one pre-" tence or other, these laws, binding the consciences of men, will become, in effect, as unalterable as those of the Medes and Persians ever were; tho' " probably, in these days, few will venture to hold a doctrine so thoroughly er repugnant to all religious liberty. Such, however, was the fate of this " attempt to render the service of the established church as pure as possible, and to clear away those parts, which, from that day to the present, con-" tinue to offend fo many respectable and conscientious persons. Consi-" dering the character and abilities of those who undertook the task, it can " never be fufficiently lamented that their endeavours proved fo unfuccefs-" ful." For archbishop Wake, speaking of them before the lords, while he was bishop of Lincoln, thus expresses himself: "They were a set of men, than which this church was never, at any one time, blessed with either " wifer or better, fince it was a church; and a defign that I am perfuaded, "would have been for the interest and peace of our church and state, had it been accomplished." And when we find among them names whose memory we revere, Compton, Lloyd, Burnet, among the bishops; with Tillotfon, Stilling fleet,

grateful return that these stubborn churchmen made to those who had affifted them in their diffres! For it ought to stand upon record, that the church of England had been twice rescued from the most imminent danger by men for whose fatisfaction they would not move a pin, nor abate a ceremony; first in the year 1660, when the presbyterians reflored the king and conflitution without making any terms for themselves; and now again at the revolution, when the church fled for succour to a presbyterian prince, and was delivered by an army of fourteen thousand Hollanders, of the fame principles with the English diffenters; and how uncivilly those troops were afterwards used, is too ungrateful a piece

of history to remember.

But befides the strong disposition of the high church clergy and their friends, to return to their allegiance to king James, there was another incident that sharpened their resentments against the king and the diffenters, which was his majesty's. confenting to the abolition of episcopacy in Scotland, which could not be prevented without putting all his affairs into the utmost confusion; the bias of that people was strong to presbytery, and the more so, because the episcopal party went almost universally into king James's interests, so that the presbyterians were the only friends the king had in that kingdom.* There was a convention called in Scotland like that in England, who on the 11th of April, the day on which king William and queen Mary were crowned in England, passed judgment of forfeiture on king James, and voted the crown of Scotland to king William and queen Mary. They drew up a claim of rights, by one article of

Stilling fleet, Patrick, Sharp, Kidder, &c. among the others; it is clear, that posterity has confirmed the testimony of this learned and sagacious prelate, and regrets the more the loss of their beneficent intentions .-"Hints," &c. by a Layman, p. 27, 8, 9. To the names mentioned by this writer we would particularly add Dr. Humphrey Prideaux; as he was not only a great friend to the scheme then on foot for a comprehension with the dissenters, but published a piece in favour of that design, under the title of "A Letter to a Friend, relating to the present Convocation at Westminster;" which was highly applauded by moderate and candid men, and of which feveral thousands were fold within a fortnight after its publication. British Biography, vol. vii. p. 224, 5. Ep.

^{*} Burnet, vol. iv. p. 32.

which it was declared, that the reformation in Scotland having been begun by a parity among the ciergy; prelacy in the church was a great and insupportable grievance to the kingdom. The bishops and their adherents, having left the convention, because not summoned by writ from king James, the presbyterians had a majority of voices; whereupon the abolishing episcopacy in Scotland was made a necessary article of the new fettlement. The episcopal party sent the dean of Glasgow to king William, to know his intentions concerning them, who answered he would do all he could to preserve them confistent with a full toleration to the presbyterians, provided they concurred in the new establishment; but if they opposed it he should not enter into a war for their fakes. bishops, instead of submitting to the revolution, resolved unanimoully to adhere firmly to king James, and declared in a body with fo much zeal against the new fettlement, that it was not possible for the king to support them. The clergy fent for king James into Scotland, and the earl of Dundee collected fome thousands of Highlanders to make a stand; but general Mackay, who was fent with a body of forces to disperse them, routed them at a place called Gillicranky, and killed the earl of Dundee upon the spot. So that episcopacy in Scotland fell a facrifice to the interest of king James.

But though it was impossible to stop the torrent of the Scots people's zeal for presbytery; and though the king had only presbyterians on his fide in that kingdom, yet the fuffering it to take place, increased the disaffection of the English clergy. Reports of the king's dislike of the bierarchy were spread with great industry; the leading men of both universities were possessed with it (fays Burnet*) though the king had joined in communion with the church, and taken the facrament according to law; but it was given out, that men zealous for the church were neglected, and that those who were indifferent to the ceremonies were promoted.-His majesty promised the Scots clergy to moderate matters in their favour, and lord Melvil, secretary of state, engaged very folemnly for the fame purpose; but when the presbyterians threatened to defert the court if they were deferted by them, Melvil thought it the king's interest to secure them in all events, which could not be done but by abandoning the ministers of the episcopal persuasion. Such therefore as refused to read the proclamation of king William and queen Mary by the prefixed day were deprived of their livings; which being published up and down England, and much aggravated, raifed the aversion of the friends of the church against the presbyterians so high (fays bishop Burnet*) that they began to repent their having granted a toleration to a party, who, where they prevailed, shewed so much fury against those of the episcopal persuasion. It ought, however, to be remembered that this was a government case, that the fate of the revolution in that kingdom depended upon it; and that the bishops and episcopal clergy, almost to a man, were determined Jacobites, and refused to take the oaths to king WILLIAM and queen MARY. Besides, what reason had the Scots presbyterians to trust the episcopal clergy, when it was in their power to do themselves justice? Had they not deceived them out of their discipline in 1662, and persecuted them cruelly ever fince? Whoever peruses the dreadful fufferings of the kirk in the reign of Charles the fecond, will judge how far they had reason to replace them in the saddle, and deliver the reins into their hands.

But the difaffection of the high church clergy stopped not fhort of the king himself, who was made uneasy by their malignant spirit and restless endeavours to clog the wheels of his government; infomuch that his majesty sometimes declared, with more than ordinary vehemence, that he would not ftay in England and hold an empty name; that it was not eafy to determine which was best, a commonwealth or kingly government; but he was fure the worst of all governments was, a king without treasure, and without power. He once resolved to return to Holland, and leave the government in the queen's hands, imagining they would treat her better; † and he communicated his defign to the marquis of Carmarthen, the earl of Shrewfbury, and others, who befought him with tears to change his resolution, and at last prevailed: but had his majesty declared this from the throne, the nation was in a temper to have done him juftice on the incendiaries; for notwithstanding their clamours.

^{*} Burnet, p. 42. 1 Ibid. p. 49. † Ibid. p. 55, 56.

they knew their desperate situation if the king should desert them, having renounced their allegiance to king James, and gone such lengths as he could never forgive. But king William, having a generous mind, imagined they might be gained by gentleness and kindness, and therefore took up with a motley ministry, which distressed him to the last. Thus the thries and high church clergy enjoyed the advantages of this GLORIOUS REVOLUTION, while they acted a most ungrateful part towards their DELIVERER, and a most unkind and

ungenerous one to their diffenting brethren.

Nor have these gentlemen ceased to discover their enmity to the differers fince that time, as often as the power has been in their hands. It was impossible to injure them while king WILLIAM lived, but no fooner was queen ANNE advanced to the throne than they endeavoured to cramp the toleration by the bill against occasional conformity, which was brought into the house one sessions after another, till at length it obtained the royal affent in the latter end of the year 1711, under the specious title of, An act to preserve the protestant religion, and to confirm the toleration, and further to secure the protestant succession. It makes some few concessions in support of the toleration, but then it enacts, "That if any " persons in office, who by the laws are obliged to qualify "themselves by receiving the sacrament, or test, shall ever re-" fort to a conventicle or meeting of differenters for religious "worship, during the time of their continuance in such " office, they shall forfeit twenty pounds for every such of-" fence, and be disqualified for any office for the future, till "they have made oath that they have entirely conformed to "the church, and not been at any conventicle for the space " of a whole year." So that no person in the least office in the customs, excise, or common council, &c. could ever enter the doors of a meeting-house. But the reader may peruse the act at large in the Appendix, Number XIV.

In the last year of queen Anne the toleration was further straitened by an act to prevent the growth of schism; for with these gentlemen all dissenters are schismaticks, and in order to prevent their increase, the education of their children was taken out of the hands of their friends, and intrusted only with such who were full and entire conformists. And if any

fchool-

school-master or tutor should be willingly present at any conventicle of diffenters for religious worship, he shall suffer three months imprisonment, and be disqualified, as above, from teaching school for the future. The act was to take place August 1, 1714, the very day the queen died; but his late majesty king George I. being fully fatisfied that these hardthips were brought upon the diffenters for their fleady adherence to the protestant succession in his illustrious house, against a tory and jacobite ministry, who were paving the way for a popish pretender, procured the repeal of them in the fifth year of his reign. The last-mentioned act, with the repeal, is inferted in the Appendix Number XV. and XVI. together with a clause which forbids the mayor, or other magistrate, to go into any meeting for religious worship with the ensigns of his office.

Many of the ejected ministers of 1662, and others, furvived the revolution, and made a confiderable figure in the reigns of king WILLIAM and queen MARY. As,

The Rev. William Bates, D.D.

Obad. Grew, D.D. Sam. Annefly, D.D. John Collings, D.D. Mr. Richard Baxter

Mr. Vincent Alsop, M. A.

Mr. John Howe, M. A. Mr. Tho. Doolittle, M. A.

Mr. Phil. and Matth.

Henry, M. A. Mr. John Flavel

Mr. Matthew Barker,

M. A.

Mr. George Cockayne

Mr. John Faldo

Mr. W. Lorimer, M. A.

Mr. Tho. Gilbert, B.D.

Mr. Fos. Hill, B.D. Mr. Robert Bragge

Mr. Matth. Mead

Mr. Jus. Forbes, M. A.

Mr. Tho. Cole, M. A.

Mr. Geo. Griffith, M. A.

Mr. Nath. Mather

Mr. Edward Veal

The Rev. Mr. John Quick

Mr. Nathaniel Vincent,

M.A.

Mr. Rd. Stretton, M. A.

Mr. George Hammond,

M.A.

Mr. Richard Kentish

Mr. H. Newcome, M. A.

Mr. Matth. Sylvester Mr. Christ. Nesse, M. A.

Mr. John Humphrys, M. A.

Mr. Richard Mayo

Mr. Matth. Clarke, fen.

Isaac Chauncey, M.D.

Mr. Sam. Slater, M.A.

Daniel Williams, D.D.

Mr. John Spademan,

M. A.

Mr. Robert Billio

Mr. Rich. Steele, M. A.

Mr. Nath. Taylor

Mr. R. Flemming, M. A.

Mr. Daniel Burgess

Mr. James Owen, &c.

Thefe

These, and others who deserve an honourable mention, were learned and useful men, and most of them popular preachers, serviceable to the societies for reformation of manners, and eminent confessors in the cause of liberty and scriptural religion; but their deaths not happening within the compass of this work, I must leave them to be remembered by the historians of after-times.



SUPPLEMENT

TO

CHAPTERS I. and II. and of VOL. V.

SECT. I.

The History of the Baptists continued.

THE history of the Baptists, from the accession of James II. to the Revolution, is confined to some brief accounts of the sufferings and characters of several ministers who were in estimation among them, and died in this period.

But we should first mention one, whose name should have been introduced in the preceding reign: Mr. Abraham Chear, a native of Plymouth, who, though he did not enjoy a liberal education, knew the scriptures from his childhood, and delighted in fearching them. About 1648 he was baptifed, and joined the baptist church in that town, and was foon after invited to be their pastor, for which character he was fitted by peculiar gifts and graces. In 1661 he suffered three months imprisonment in Exeter gaol, on the conventicle act. In 1662 he was, again, cast into that prison; after his release he was imprisoned at the Guildhall in Plymouth; then, after a month's detention, he was confined, under military guard, in the ifle of Plymouth; where, after full five years imprifonment in different gaols, and enduring many inhumanities from merciless gaolers, he yielded up his spirit without pang or considerable groan, the fifth of March 1668. At his death the church confifted of 150 members. After this the perfecution broke out with greater fury, and it fuffered much till king James's declaration for liberty of conscience revived their drooping spirits, and were almost twenty years destitute of a pastor. Mr. Chear was a laborious and successful preacher. In his confinement he wrote feveral religious H 2

tracts, and letters to his friends, full of christian exhortations to constancy and stedfastness. One of these, an acknowledge. ment of some provisions sent to him and his fellow-prisoners, most expressive of chearfulness in their sufferings and gratitude to their benefactors, is preferved by Crolby. During his illness, almost to his last moment, he continued glorifying God, and exhorting all who visited him to perseverance in those perilous times; speaking with earnest concern about the guilt contracted in these nations by persecuting God's faithful fervants; and with great joy and affurance concerning the delight which God takes in his fuffering faints, and the ample recompence he will hereafter render for their prefent forrows; particularly on the Lord's day preceding his diffolution. About three hours before it, a friend perceiving him under great preffures, faid foftly to him, "They "looked unto the Lord, and were lightened: a right look "will bring down relief under all difficulties." "Yea," he replied, with great strength and earnestness, "and their " faces were not ashamed."*

In the reign of James II. died, at Kelby in Leicestershire, where he was minister of a baptist congregation, Mr. Richard Farmer, the friend of Mr. Clarke and Mr. Shuttleworth, eminent ejected ministers in that county. He was an hard student and an affecting preacher, and frequently officiated among the Independents. He had a small estate to live upon, in which he suffered greatly for his religious principles, as distress was made by virtue of a justice's warrant upon his goods; and they took from him, in one year, to the value of one hundred and ten pounds.

Another, who suffered much in this period for his non-conformity, and was several times prisoner at York, at Leeds, and at Chester, was Mr. Thomas Hardcastle, ejected from Bramham, in the county of York. He was born at Barwick upon Holm, and received his education under Mr. Jackson, of that town, a learned divine. He had not been long in the ministry, when the act of uniformity passed: he preached afterwards at Shadwell chapel and other places.

^{*} Thompson's Collections, MSS. and Crosby's History of the English Baptists, vol. iii. p. 11-24.

⁺ Ibid. p. 118, 119.

He was a man of pregnant parts, eminent learning and piety, of great moderation and catholicism, though of a bold spirit, which feared no danger. In 1671 he was, on the death of Mr. Ewins,* invited to be pastor of a congregation of baptifts, who had separated from the establishment early in 1640. though they continued their attendance at fermon, but not at the prayers, in the parish church on the morning of every Lord's-day, fpending the afternoon and evening in religious exercises among themselves. Mr. Cann, the author of the marginal references to the bible, preached adult baptifm to them, and fettled them in church order, without making baptism a term of communion. On Mr. Hardcastle's settlement with them, they took four rooms on the Lamb pavement, Broadmead, and made them into one of fixteen yards long and fifteen broad. At Briftol he was fent to the house of correction; he died fuddenly, 20th of August 1678, univerfally lamented. He published one practical treatife.+ He was succeeded by another ejected minister.

Mr. George Fownes, who fettled with this fociety Sept. 16, 1679, finding the number of members, which amounted, when Mr. Hardcastle became their pastor, to a hundred,

Mr. Equins was ejected from a living in Bristol: though he was no schofar, and had been a mechanick, he was esteemed as a judicious, methodical preacher; was remarkable for his meekness, patience, and charity; in his ministerial duties he was popular, laborious, and successful, ready to preach on most days when not otherwise employed; grave and serious every where, and full of good discourse. He was so scrupulous about maintenance, that he would accept no tithes nor falary, but only free gifts. The bithop of Briftol invited him to conform, but he could by no means be tatisfied to comply. When, in 1651, he was invited by the separatists at Brittol, to become their minister—he was a padobaptist. About 1654, he embraced the opinions of the baptists, and was baptifed in London. In 1660 the members of his fociety were turned out of the churches, and in 1662 he was ordained their pastor. He went through a variety of persecutions, and was often in prison, once for whole year, when he preached twice a day. There he contracted a lethargick distemper, of which he died, aged about fixty, in April 1670, greatly lamented. He was buried in St. James's church-yard, April 29, and a vast concourse of people attended his funeral. He was fometimes abused in the streets, but would not attempt to retaliate; for he faid " Vengeance is God's; my duty is patience." Palmer's Non-conformists' Memorial, vol. ii. p. 351, and Thompson's Collections, MSS.

[†] Thompson's Collections, MSS. Crosby, vol. iii. p. 27, 28; and Palmer's Non-conformists' Memorial, vol. ii. p. 557.

increased

increased to 166, of which thirty-one were padobaptists. Mr. Fownes was born in Shropshire, and received his classical education at Shrewsbury, where his grandson, the ingenious and learned Mr. Joseph Fownes, was for many years a diffenting minister. His father dying he was sent to Cambridge. He was an able preacher, and a man of great learning, and was converfant in law, physick, and other branches of science. He voluntarily quitted the parish church, before the restoration, though he continued preaching in different places till he fixed at Briftol. About the time of what was called the presbyterian plot, he was taken in the pulpit, and committed to Newgate; but by virtue of a flaw in the mittimus, he was in fix weeks removed by an habeas corpus to the King's-Bench, and acquitted. He was afterwards apprehended on the highway in Kingfwood, on fuspicion of only coming from a meeting, and committed to Gloucester gaol, for refusing the corporation-oath, and riding within five miles of a corporation: witnesses were suborned to swear a riot against him, though no other rioter was named in the bill; he pleaded his own cause very pleasantly; telling them, "that he and his horse could not be guilty of a riot without " company;" and the jury brought in their verdict, not guilty; yet he was returned back to prison; and refusing to give a bond for good behaviour, of which he knew preaching would be interpreted to be a forfeiture, he was detained there for two years and an half, till God released him by death in December 1685. He was afflicted with the stone, and a physician declared "that his confinement was his "death; and that it was no less murder than if they had " run him through the first day he came in, and more " cruel."*

Another eminent minister and writer among the baptists at this time, was Mr. Henry D'Anvers, a worthy man, of unspotted life and conversation, a joint-elder of a baptist congregation at Aldgate, London; and author of "A Trea-" tise of Baptism," which drew him into a controversy with Mr. Wills, Mr. Blinman, and Mr. Baxter, in whose writings, if we may credit a letter published by Mr. D'Anvers, and

^{*} Palmer's Non-conformists' Memorial, vol. i. p. 243, &c. Crosby, vol. iii. p. 28, 29; and Thompson's Collections, MSS.

fent to him by a person of quality, of known worth, ability, and moderation, "there were more heat, passion, and per"fonal reslections, than of reason, or a sober inquisition of
"truth." Mr. D'Anvers was descended from honourable
parents, his father being a gentleman who had an estate of
400l. a year; he himself was governor of Stassord and a
justice of peace, some time before Oliver's usurpation, and
well beloved by the people. He was noted for one who
would take no bribes. At Stassord he first embraced the
opinions of the baptists.*

In 1687, May 14th, died Mr. Thomas Wilcox, minister of a congregation, which met before the plague at his own house in Cannon-street; but afterwards at the Three Cranes in the Borough, Southwark; and author of a popular little piece, which has been frequently reprinted, entitled "A Drop of Honey from the Rock, Christ." He was born at Linden, in the county of Rutland, August 1622; was several times confined in Newgate for non-conformity, and suffered very much. He was a moderate man, and of catholick principles, well beloved by all denominations, and frequently preached

among the prefbyterians and independents.

October 3, 1687, died, aged 53, Mr. John Gofnold, who had been a scholar at the Charter-house, and a student at Pembroke-hall, Cambridge, a man of great learning and piety; a pious practical preacher, of fingular modesty and moderation; intimately acquainted with Tillotfon, whose weekly lecture he used to attend, and was much esteemed and valued by other men of note and dignity in the established church, who kept up a correspondence with him. He was educated for the pulpit in the establishment, but by the act of aniformity made incapable of any settlement in it. He was chaplain to lord Grey. Having joined the baptists, he was chosen paster of a congregation at Barbican, in London; and was one of the ministers who subscribed the apology presented to Charles II. on occasion of Venner's conspiracy. Though he was always peaceably minded, he was often forced to conceal himself. His flock held him in great respect, and his preaching was so popular as to draw after him people of all denominations. His audience was usually com-

^{*} Crosby, vol. iii, p. 90.

puted to be near three thousand; and among them very often fix or seven clergymen in their gowns, who sat in a convenient place, under a large gallery, where they were seen by sew. The number of his auditors, and the sigure which some of them made, occasioned, after the sire of London, an application from the officers of the parish of Cripplegate to request a collection for the poor, who abounded in that parish. The request was complied with, upwards of sifty pounds was raised, and the church voluntarily continued the collection for above twenty years. His publications were, a small treatise entitled "the Doctrine of Baptism;" and another concerning "the laying on of hands." He was buried in Bunhill with this simple inscription:

"Here lieth the body of Mr. John Gosnold, a faithful "minister of the gospel, who departed this life, October the 3d, 1678, and in the 53d year of his age."



SECT. II.

The History of the Quakers continued.

DURING the preceding period; from the declaration of indulgence to the end of Charles the IId's reign, this fociety lost several active and eminent members by death.

Among these was William Baily, who died 1675, at sea, in his voyage from the West-Indies. He had preached among the baptists at Pool in Dorsetshire, when, convinced by the ministry of George Fox, he embraced the principles of the quakers in 1655, among whom he became a bold and zealous preacher, not in England only, but while he followed a feafaring life in diffant countries, being concerned to propagate righteoufness, whenever an opportunity presented itself, and he displayed a like fortitude in suffering for his testimony; for he was frequently imprisoned in different gaols, both during the time of the commonwealth and after the reftora-He also suffered much corporal abuse by blows, by being thrown down and dragged along the ground by the hair of his head, trampled upon by a corpulent man, and his mouth and jaws attempted to be rent afunder. On a voyage from Barbadoes he was visited with a disease, which terminated his life and fufferings. Among other fentible observations, expressive of the serenity of his mind, and of devout confidence and hope, addressing himself to the master of the veffel, he faid, "Shall I lay down my head in peace upon the "waters? Well, God is the God of the whole universe; " and though my body fink, I shall live a-top of the waters." He afterwards added, "the creating word of the Lord en-"dures for ever."+

* Gough's History of the Quakers, vol. ii. p. 407-411.

[†] This William Baily married Mary Fisher, a woman of singular ardour and resolution in the propagation of her religious principles; for, besides going to Boston in America, and meeting severe sufferings there, she engaged, after her return to England, in a more arduous undertaking. This was to pay a visit to sultan Mahomet IV. encamped with his army

In 1679, died, at Goodnestone Court in Kent, in the 63d year of his age, Isaac Pennington, of Chalfont in Bucking. hamshire, an honourable, useful, and virtuous member of this fociety. He was heir to a fair inheritance, being the eldest fon of alderman Pennington, of London, a noted member of the long parliament, and nominated, though he never fat, one of the king's judges. His education had all the advantages the schools and universities of his own country could afford him; his rank in life threw him into the company of some of the most learned and considerable men of the age; his understanding was by nature good; his judgment and apprehension quick; his disposition was mild and affable; and his converfation chearful, but guarded; equally divested of moroseness and levity. From his childhood he was religiously inclined, and conversant with the scriptures; the wonder of his acquaintance for his awful frame of mind and retired life. When he first met with the writings of the quakers, he threw them aside with disdain; and, when he fell into conversation with some of them, though they engaged his affectionate regard, yet he could not but view them in a contemptuous light, as a poor and weak generation. But, afterwards, being invited to a meeting in Bedfordshire, where George Fox preached, his prejudices gave way; he joined the fociety, against all the influence of connections and worldly prospects, and became a very eminent and ferviceable member in it. He diligently vifited and

hear Adrianople. She proceeded on her way as far as Smyrna, when the English conful stopped her, and fent her back to Venice. Not disheartened from the profecution of her defign, the made her way by land, and escaped any manner of abuse, through a long journey of five or fix hundred miles. She went to the camp alone, and obtained an audience of the fultan, who received her with great courtefy, and heard her with much feriousness and gravity, invited her to stay in the country, and offered her a guard to Constantinople. This she declined, but reached that city in safety without the least injury or infult, and afterwards arrived in England. The conduct of the Mahometans towards her, as Gough remarks, was a striking contrast to that of the professors of New-England. "We cannot but regret," he properly adds, "that the best religion the world was ever blessed with, " and in its own purity fo far furpassing in excellence, should, on compa-" rison with human infidelity, be so tarnished through the degeneracy of " its professors, who, under the name of christians, in morality, generosity, " and humanity, fall far short of those who name not the name of Christ." Gough, vol. i. p, 423. administered administered to the afflicted in body and mind. He opened his heart and house to the reception of friends. preaching was very fuccessful in proselyting many, and conforming many. He was an excellent pattern of piety, virtue. and the strictest morality. He was a most affectionate husband, a careful and tender father, a mild and gentle master, a sincere and faithful friend, compassionate and liberal to the poor; affable to all, ready to do good to all men. and careful to injure none. But neither rank of life, benevolence of disposition, inculpable innocence of demeanour, nor the universal esteem of his character, could secure him from the fufferings attendant upon his religious profession. His imprisonments were many, and some of them long and fevere. These he bore with great firmness and serenity. and the sharp and painful distemper, which put an end to his life, gave no shock to his internal peace.*

In the next year, 1680, died, leaving behind him deep impressions of grateful respect, and honourable esteem in the hearts of many, Giles Barnadiston, of Clare in Suffolk, aged fifty-fix. He was born in 1684, of a respectable and opulent family, and being defigned for the pulpit in the establishment, he received a liberal education both in seminaries of literature, and at the university, where he spent six years. But when he was called on to accept an offer of preferment in the church and to take orders, from a consciousness of wanting the internal purity and spiritual wisdom effential to a minister of the gospel, he resolutely declined the proposal. Though, in this instance, he was governed by a just and serious view of things, he had not firmness to refult the allurements of pleasure and sensual gratifications. On the breaking out of the civil war he obtained a colonel's commission in the army; but he soon grew weary of a military life, accompanied with violence and bloodshed, laid down his commission, and retired to Wormingford Lodge in Effex, commenced a stricter life than before, and became thoughtful about the way of falvation. In this state of mind he felt an inclination to acquaint himself with the principles of the quakers, and, in 1661, invited some of them to his house; the consequence of his conversation with George

Fox the younger, and George Weatherly, who paid him a vifit, was his joining himfelf with this fociety; and he willingly took part in the storm of perfecution to which this people were exposed, and constantly attended their religious meetings in the hottest time of it. In 1669 he removed to Clare, the place of his nativity, and in the same year he made his appearance in the ministry, in which he acquitted himself with faithfulness, fervency, wisdom, and success. He had but a tender constitution; yet, animated by a devoutness to the glory of God, and by a generous concern to promote the well-being of mankind, he took many journies, and travelled into Holland, as well as divers parts of England, to make known to others what he judged to be the truth. He died, on his return from London to Chelmsford, after a fhort illness, in which he expressed his resignation, " that "the Lord was his portion, and that he was freely given

" up to die, which was gain to him."*

In 1681 died, at Stafford, where he had refided several years, and left a good report among the inhabitants of the town, Thomas Taylor, aged 65 years, an ancient and faithful minister of this society. He was born, at or near Shipton in Yorkshire, about the year 1616, and received a liberal education at the university of Oxford. He was first a lecturer in this county, and then obtained a living in Westmoreland. which he held till the year 1652, when he voluntarily relinquished it. His audience was principally composed of Puritans, among whom he ranked, for he declined the use of ceremonies, and would neither baptize children at the font, nor fign them with the fign of the cross. On having an interview with George Fox, at Swarthmore, he embraced his doctrine, and joined him as a companion in his travels and ministerial labours. He refigned his living on a conviction of the unlawfulness of preaching for hire. He travelled through many parts of England, differinating the doctrine of the quakers, which he maintained at Oxford against the learned Dr. Owen, at that time vice-chancellor of the university, with great advantage in the opinion of the academics. But his travels were interrupted by a fuccession of imprisonments, one of which lasted for ten years, till Charles II.

[·] Gough, vol. ii. p. 549-553.

issued his letters patent for the general discharge of the quakers from prison, in 1672. Supported by consciousness of a good cause, and patient acquiescence in the divine dis-

pofals, he held his integrity to the laft.*

In 1684 died William Bennet, of Woodbridge in Suffolk, a man of a religious turn of mind from his infancy, which, as he grew up, led him to affociate with the strictest profeffors. His first connections were among the independents; he then joined the quakers, and continued a steady, serviceable, and honourable member of their fociety till his death. He travelled in the exercise of his ministry, edifying his friends and making converts, through many parts of Eng-"land, adorning his character by the innocence and integrity of his life, fo as to gain univerfal efteem, and to extort from his adverfaries an acknowledgement of his personal merit. Yet his fufferings were remarkable; he appears to have spent, at least in the latter part of his life, nearly as much if not more time in prison, than in the enjoyment of his liberty; till growing weaker and weaker, by close and continued confinement, he fell a facrifice to the fentence of partial magistrates and the forced construction of unequal laws.

This year died, also, in Carlifle gaol, Thomas Stordy, descended from a family of repute in Cumberland, and born to the inheritance of an handsome estate. About middle age he became feriously thoughtful, in the pursuit of pure religion. He first joined the independents, among whom his talents, in exhortations and religious exercises, were highly esteemed. After some time he left them, and connected himfelf with the quakers; in this fociety he spent the remainder of his life, respected in his neighbourhood as a man of circumfpect, fober, and temperate demeanor, upright in his dealings, obliging in his disposition, hospitable in his house, and liberally charitable to the poor around him. But this honest, respectable citizen was harrassed by prosecution upon profecution, and penalty upon penalty; he was detained a close prisoner at Carlisse, under a præmunire, till released by the king's declaration in 1672. He was fined for a meeting, when he was under restraint several miles from it. On the statute of the 23d of Elizabeth, he was cast into gaol,

and confined there several years, till his death. Not long before his decease, being visited by some of his friends, he encouraged them to faithfulness in these words: "If you "continue faithful unto the Lord whilst you live in this "world, he will reward you, as he now rewards me, with "his sweet peace." He was so consident in his opinion concerning tithes, that he not only refused to pay, but to receive them; for inheriting from his ancestors an impropriation of 10l. per annum, he quitted all claim to it for himself, his heirs and assigns for ever, and by a legal instrument released the owners of the lands from whence the tithes accrued.*

Another eminent minister and member of this fociety. who finished an useful life, this year, was William Gibson of London. He was born at Caton in Lancashire, in 1629, and, in the civil wars, enlifted as a foldier. Being in the garrison at Carlisle, he went to a quakers' meeting, with three of his comrades, to infult and abuse the preacher; arriving at the place before his companions, after the minister had begun, he was so impressed and affected, that, instead of executing his purpose, he stept up near to the preacher to defend him from infult, if it should be offered. From that time he frequented the meetings of the fociety, foon quitted his military employment, and after three years became a preacher. In 1662 he married and fettled near Warrington, and his ministry, while resident in that country, was very fuccefsful; and on his removal, he left a good report and impressions of affectionate respect to his memory. He afterwards fixed in London, where his fervice was conspicuous against hypocrify, formality, and libertinism, and his circumspect conversation was a credit to his ministry. He fuffered perfecution in the loss of substance by various distraints, in divers imprisonments, and in personal abuses. In Shropshire, the gaoler would not permit his food to be taken to him, but obliged him to draw it up by a rope, and also threw him down a pair of stone stairs, whereby his body was greatly bruifed, and beat him to that degree that he was ill near fix months. He was engaged in fome controversies concerning tithes; was the author of several treatises

* Gough, vol. iii. p. 34-37.

ferviceable at the time, and employed a part of his time in his imprisonments in writing epistles to his friends for their edification in righteousness. He died, recommending union, and exhorting to faithfulness and confidence in the Lord, at the age of 55, and his funeral was attended to Bunhill-

fields by many hundreds of friends and others.*

While the fociety derived honour, at this period, from the virtues of character, and fortitude under fufferings, of diffinguished members, it was greatly indebted to the able writings of Penn and Barclay. The former, the year before the king's declaration, 1671, employed the time of his confinement in prison, in writing "The great cause of Liberty of Conscience "briefly debated and defended;" and feveral other pieces. In 1675, on account of the divisions and animosities prevailing in the nation, he published a treatise, entitled "Eng-" land's Present Interest considered;" to shew the consistency of a general liberty of confcience with the peace of the kingdom; and the remedies which he proposes to be adopted for allaying the heat of contrary interests were "an inviolable " and impartial maintenance of English rights; our superiors " governing themselves upon a balance, as near as may be, "towards the feveral religious interests; and a fincere pro-" motion of general and practical religion." Solid reasoning and a multitude of authorities are employed to support these propositions, which form the ground-work of the treatise: " a work" fays Gough, " wherein the liberal charity of real " christianity, and the candid spirit of genuine patriotism, are " eminently conspicuous." The Preface, addressed to the higher powers, exhibits a pathetick representation of the severities of the times; when " to fee the imprisoned was crime "enough for a jail; to visit the sick to make a conventicle: "when whole barns of corn were feized, thrashed, and " carried away; parents left without their children; children " without their parents, and both without subfistence. But "that which aggravates the cruelty," he adds, "is, the " widow's mite hath not escaped their hands; they have " made her cow the forfeiture of her conscieece, not leaving "her a bed to lie on, nor a blanket to cover her; and what " is yet more barbarous, and helps to make up this tragedy, "the poor orphan's milk, boiling over the fire, hath been flung to the dogs, and the skillet made part of the prize; fo that had not nature in neighbours been stronger than cruelty in such informers, to open her bowels for their relief and subsistence, they must have utterly perished." In the same year in which this piece appeared, Penn likewise wrote a treatise on oaths, to shew the reason for not

fwearing at all.*

A work of extensive and permanent celebrity came this year from the pen of Robert Barclay, entitled " An Apology " for the true Christian Divinity, being an explanation and "vindication of the principles and doctrines of the people " called quakers." It was prefaced with an address to king Charles II. remarkable for its plain dealing and honest simplicity, and as important, curious, and extraordinary as any part of the work. It has been admired both by our own countrymen and strangers. The work itself has been univerfally allowed to furpass every thing of its kind, and to set the principles of the quakers in the fairest light possible. The author fent two copies of it to each of the publick ministers, then at the famous congress of Nimeguen, where it was received with all imaginable favour and respect, and the knowledge, charity, and difinterested probity of its author justly applauded. It was printed in Latin at Amsterdam, in 1676, and was quickly translated into High Dutch, Low Dutch, French and Spanish. As it attracted great notice, fo it drew out various answers, abroad and at home; some from the pens of men, who had before gained a confiderable reputation in the learned world. These replies contributed to spread and advance the fame of Barclay's work; and it is remarkable, that while these have been little regarded and funk into oblivion, this treatife maintains its celebrity. Though it had not the defired effect of stopping the perfecution against the people, in whose cause it was written, " yet "it answered," as it is observed, "a more important end, "by shewing, that the pretences upon which they were " perfecuted, were false and ill-grounded; and that those, "who, on one fide, represented them as concealed papists, " and fuch, as on the other hand denied their being christians,

[•] Gough, vol. ii. p. 397-400.

"were equally in the wrong, and equally misled by their " prejudices." The work did, in this view, great fervice to those of the author's persuasion; while quakerism, which before had been looked on as an heap of extravagancies and visions, assumed in this treatise a systematick form, was reduced to fixed principles, and recommended itself to the judicious and enlightened mind. "It was an effay," fays Gough, " to strip quakerism of the disguise in which enmity " or ignorance had dreffed it up, and to represent it to the "world in its genuine shape and complexion. A work "which, with unprejudiced readers, answered the end of "its publication, and gained the author the approbation of "the ingenuous in general."* It is some proof of the high estimation in which it hath been held, that Mr. Baskerville printed a very elegant edition of it. A Scots poet, writing of the two famous Barclays, William and John, hath concluded with these verses upon Robert:

" But, lo! a third appears, with ferious air;

" His prince's darling, and his country's care.

" See his religion, which fo late before

"Was like a jumbled mass of dross and ore,

" Refin'd by him, and burnish'd o'er with art,

" Awakes the spirits, and attracts the heart.+

In 1676 Barclay published a work entitled "The Anarchy "of the Ranters and other Libertines, the hierarchy of the "Romanists and other pretended churches, equally refused "and refuted." This is pronounced to be a learned and excellent treatise, containing as much sound reasoning as any book of its size in ours, or perhaps in any modern language. The design of it was to vindicate the discipline established among the quakers, against those who accused

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 401—406. Biographia Britan. vol. ii. 2d ed. Article Barclay. Dictionaire des Heresies, vol. ii. p. 460. Mosheim, however, has not treated this work with candour or justice, but endeavours to depreciate it, and asperses the author, charging him with duplicity and with giving a fallacious account of the principles of this society. By which he has exposed himself to the just animadversions of the historian of this society. Mosheim's Eccles. History, vol. v. p. 36, note (b) 2d ed. and Gough, ut supra.

+ Biographia Brit. vol. ii. p. 602, of the 2d. edit.

them of confusion and disorder on one hand, or calumniated them with tyranny and imposition on the other. The causes and consequences of superstition on one hand, and of fanaticism on the other, we are told, are laid open in this very curious and instructive work, with much solidity and perspicuity.* It drew upon its author, at the time of its appearance, much reproach and investive from certain sepa-

ratifts, who had rifen up feveral years.

The leaders of these separatists were John Wilkinson and John Story, two ministers in the North, who took difgust at the discipline of the society, as an imposition on gospel liberty, and fetting up fome men in the church to usurp authority over their brethren: " pleading that nothing ought " to be given forth in the church of Christ but by way of "advice or recommendation; and that every man ought to " be left at his liberty to act according to the light of his " own confcience without cenfure, or being accountable to " any man, but to God, the fole proper judge of conscience." They, particularly, objected to women's meetings, as usurping authority in the church contrary to the apostle Paul's They gained over adherents from the weaker prohibition. and loofer members of the fociety; and caused a rent and division in the quarterly meeting of Westmoreland, to which they belonged. After feveral publications on this occasion, pro and con, especially by William Rogers, a merchant at Bristol, in favour of the separatists, and in reply by Thomas Elwood; and after the matter had been referred to different meetings, and their objections been heard, they found themfelves too loofely compacted to adhere long together; fome, judging their feparation to be causeless, reunited themselves to the body of the fociety, and the rest soon fell to pieces and dwindled away.+

When James II. came to the throne, the quakers drew up a petition, as we have feen, stating their grievous sufferings by no less than ten penal laws; but it is not certain, whether they had an opportunity of presenting it; for their proceedings were interrupted by the landing of the duke of

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^{*} Biographia Britan. vol. ii. p. 592, 3. Gough, vol. iii. p. 15.

† Gough, vol. iii. p. 9-24.

Monmouth, which for a time engaged all the attention of the court and the nation. But in March 1685-6 they made an application to the throne, foliciting the liberation of their imprisoned friends, and they obtained a warrant for their release, directed to Sir Robert Sawyer, attorney-general. He was then at his feat in Hampshire; that this business might be expedited, therefore, George Whitehead, and John Edge, accompanied by Rowland Vaughan, waited on him there, and were received and entertained with great civility, till liberates could be made out for the prisoners in the city; after his return to London, by the exertion of the said friends, the discharge of the prisoners in different parts of the kingdom was obtained.*

The attention which the king gave their grievances, in this and other instances, encouraged them to present a complaint and petition against the informers and their iniquitous practices. This was followed by a request to the king to examine into the truth of the allegations, by giving the petitioners an opportunity to prove them to the informers' faces. request was granted, and a commission was issued to Richard Graham, and Philip Burton, efgrs. who fummoned the informers, fufferers and witnesses, to appear before them at Clifford's Inn, the 4th of June 1686. Fifty-four cases were felected, from which to establish their charges. When all the parties came to Clifford's Inn, the informers, feeing the numerous company that appeared against them, expressed their malice in this ribaldry; "Here come all the devils in "hell," and observing George Whitehead, they cried out, "and there comes the old devil of all." The first charge, proved in thirty-four cases, was, that "they had sworn "falfely in fact:" then were laid before the commissioners fundry cases, wherein the doors of houses and shops were broken open with violence, by constables and informers, to make fevere and exorbitant distraints, by which houshold and shop goods were carried away by cart-loads. The commillioners grew weary before they had gone through one fourth of the cases, and adjourned for ten days. At the second meeting the lawyer, whom the informers had employed to plead their cause, was quickly silenced by the

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[·] Gough, vol. iii. p. 164-169.

number of facts and the evidence produced, and before half the cases, prepared for their cognizance, were examined, the commissioners thought they had sufficient grounds for a report to the king. A report was accordingly drawn up, to which George Whitehead, on a fight of it, objected as very deficient and improper; being rather a proposal to limit profecutions to the less ruinous penal laws, than a plain state of facts, and of the various perjuries, and of the illegal and injurious acts of the informers. The reason of this was, that they had received a meffage from a great person or perfons in the church, foliciting them to do or report nothing that might invalidate the power of the informers. But, on Whitehead's pleading for justice to be done, in regard to matters of fact, the report was amended and framed more to the purpose. The king, on receiving it, referred it to the Lord Chancellor, in order to correct the irregular proceedings of fome justices and the informers. He fignified also his pleasure to the subordinate magistrates and justices, that they should put a stop to the depredations of these men; instead, therefore, of being encouraged, they were discountenanced. The court withdrawing its protection, other differences profecuting them, and the scenes of their iniquity being laid open, fome fled the country, and the rest were reduced to beggary.*

The quakers, who had fuffered more feverely than any other fects, that they might not feem less sensible of the relief they had received, when addresses were presented to the king for his declaration for liberty of conscience, also waited on him with an address of thanks; first, from those of their fociety who refided in or about London, and then in the name and on behalf of the community at large. while the other diffenters were centured in this business, as countenancing the king's difpenfing power, the quakers were guarded in this respect; for they expressed their hope, "that "the good effects of the declaration of indulgence on the " trade, peace and prosperity of the kingdom would product " fuch a concurrence from the parliament, as would fecure "it to their posterity;" modestly hinting, it hath been ob ferved, their fentiments of what they apprehended yet wanting to be done to complete the favour.+

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· Gough, vol. iii. p. 172-176. +Id, p. 189-195. When

When the bishops were committed prisoners to the Tower, and it was understood that they reflected on the quakers as belying them, and reporting that they had been the cause of the death of some of them, Robert Barclay paid the bishops a vifit, and laid before them undeniable proofs, that fome, by order of bishops, had been detained in prison until death, though they had been apprized of their danger by physicians who were not quakers; but, he added, "that fince through "the change of circumstances, they themselves were now "under oppression, it was by no means the intention of the "people called quakers to publish fuch incidents, or to "give the king or their adversaries any advantage against "them thereby." They were accordingly very careful to refrain from every measure, in word or deed, that might in any respect aggravate the case of the prisoners, esteeming it no time to aggravate old animofities, when the common enemy was feeking an advantage.+

When perfecution subsided, and liberty of conscience was enjoyed without molestation, the quakers thought it a convenient season to apply for relief in a point where they were still exposed to considerable trouble and detriment, and at their yearly meeting in London, in the summer of 1688, they drew up an address to the king, soliciting him to interpose for their relief from sufferings for tithes, and in the case of oaths. The address was presented and well received, but before the time for holding a parliament arrived, the king sound it out of his power to redress their grievances, or support himself on the throne. The legal confirmation and enlargement of their liberty were reserved for the next reign.

During the short reign of James II. the society of quakers lost several respectable members; the most eminent of whom was colonel David Barclay, the father of the apologist, of an ancient and honourable family in Scotland, a man universally esteemed and beloved. He adopted the principles of the quakers in 1666, and is said to have been brought over to them by Mr. Swinton, a man of learning, very taking in his behaviour, naturally eloquent, and in great credit among

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[†] Gough, vol. iii. p. 198, 199. ‡ Id. p. 199-202.

them.* The acquisition of so considerable and respectable a person as colonel Barclay, was of no small use to this perfuation. He was a man venerable in his appearance, just in all his actions, had shewed his courage in the wars in Germany, and his fortitude in bearing all the hard usage he met with in Scotland, with cheerfulness as well as patience; for he very foon found himself exposed to perfecutions and sufferings on the score of his religion. He spent, however, the last twenty years of his life in the profession with great comfort to himself, being all along bleffed with found health and a vigorous constitution: and he met death, in the feventyfixth year of his age, Sept. 1686, at his feat at Ury in Scotland, with refignation and patience under great pain, and with the feelings of a lively hope. His last expressions were uttered in prayer: "Praises to the Lord! Let now thy servant " depart in peace. Into thy hands, O Father, I commit my " foul, spirit and body. Thy will, O Lord, be done on earth, " as it is in heaven." And foon after he breathed his last: and though he gave express directions (agreeably to his principles) that none but persons of his own persuasion should be invited to his funeral, yet, the time being known, many gentlemen, and those too of great distinction, attended him to the grave, out of regard to his humanity, beneficence, and publick spirit, virtues which endeared him to the good men of all parties.+

† Gough, vol. iii. p. 181, 2, 3, and Biog. Brit. vol. ii. p. 590, 1. zd edit.

^{*} This Mr. Savinton was attainted after the restoration of Charles II. for having joined Cromwell, and was fent down into Scotland to be tried; it was univerfally believed, that his death was inevitable; but when he was brought before the parliament at Edinburgh, 1661, to shew cause why he should not receive sentence, having become a quaker, when he might have fet up two pleas, strong in point of law, he answered, consonantly to his religious principles, "that he was at the time his political crimes were "imputed to him, in the gall of bitterness and bond of iniquity, but that, God having fince called him to the light, he saw and acknowledged his " past errors, and did not refuse to pay the forfeit of them, even though " in their judgment this should extend to his life." His speech was, though modest, so majestick, and shough expressive of the most perfect patience, so pathetick, that, notwithstanding he had neither interest nor wealth to plead for him, yet the impression made by his discourse on that illustrious affembly was such, that they recommended him to the king as a proper object of mercy, when they were very severe against others. Biog. Brit. vol. ii. p. 590, and Burnet's History, vol. i. p. 182.

On the 17th of July, 1688, died, at Warwick, in a good age, William Dewlbury, who was early diftinguished among the foremost members of this fociety, by the depth of his religious experience, the eminence of his labours in the ministry, and the feverity of his fufferings. He was first bred to the keeping of sheep, and then was put apprentice to a clothier. In early life he was religiously inclined, and affociated with the independents and baptists. In the civil wars he entered into the parliament army, but as he grew more feriously attentive to religious considerations, the recollection of the words of Christ, " Put up thy sword into the scab-"bard; if my kingdom were of this world, then would my " fervants fight;" affected his mind with a lively conviction of the inconfistency of war with the peaceable gospel of Christ. Under this conviction he left the army, and refumed his trade. When George Fox was at Wakefield, he joined him in fellowship and in the ministry. He travelled much in different parts of England to promote righteousness, and to propagate what was in his view, divine truth; for which, like his brethren, he met with much perfonal abuse, and was frequently thrown into prison at various places, at York, Northampton, Exeter, London, and Warwick. In this last place he was detained till the general release by king James. At length his health and strength were so impaired by the many violent abuses and long imprisonments he had endured, that he was obliged to rest frequently in walking from his house to the meeting-place in the same town. A distemper contracted in prison terminated his life. He was seized with a sharp fit of it, when in London to attend the yearly meeting, fo that he was obliged to return home by fhort journies; but furvived his departure from the city only feventeen days, To fome friends who came to visit him, he said, just before he expired; "Friends, be faithful, and trust in the Lord your "God; for this I can fay, I never played the coward, but " as joyfully entered prisons as palaces.—And in the prison-" house I sang praises to my God, and esteemed the bolts "and locks put upon me as jewels, and in the name of the "eternal God I always got the victory, for they could not "keep me any longer than the time determined of him." Continuing his discourse, he said; "My departure draws

"nigh; bleffed be God I have nothing to do but to die, and put off this corruptible and mortal tabernacle, this body of flesh that hath so many infirmities; but the life that dwells in it ascends out of the reach of death, hell, and the grave; and immortality and eternal life is my crown for ever and ever." He concluded in prayer to the Lord for all his people every where, especially for the friends then assembled in London, reaping the present reward of his fidelity, patience, and sincerity, in peaceful tenour of his mind, and looking death in the face, not only without ter-

ror, but with an holy triumph over its power.*

The history of this fociety has, with an impartial and commendable difregard to the distinction of fex, made honourable mention of those women to whose piety and zeal it was indebted. One of these, at this period, was Rebecca Travis, born 1609, who had received a religious education, and was a zealous professor among the baptists. In the year 1654, prompted by curiofity, but possessed with strong prejudices against the quakers, as a people in the North remarkable for fimplicity and rufticity of behaviour, a worship strangely different from all others, and a strenuous opposition to all publick teachers; the attended a publick disputation between James Naylor, then in London, and the baptists; in which it appeared to her, he had the advantage, by close and powerful replies, over his learned antagonists. excited her defire to hear him in the exercise of his ministry; she had foon an opportunity of gratifying her wishes; and the refult was, that from that time she attended the meetings of this people, and after some time laboured herself in the ministry among them, in London and its neighbourhood. The impressions made on her mind by the preaching of Naylor, and her observation of his circumspect conduct, engaged her affectionate efteem for him, and she cheerfully administered every charitable service in her power to his relief under his grievous sufferings; though she was a woman of too much discretion and stability in religion to carry her regard beyond its proper limits, or to fuch extravagant lengths as those weak people who contributed to his downfall. She had the character of a discreet and virtuous woman,

[·] Gough, vol. iii. p. 223-228.

much employed in acts of charity and beneficence; of fympathetick tenderness towards the afflicted, and therefore one of the first of those faithful women to whom the care of the poor, the sick, and the imprisoned members of the community, was assigned; this care, in conjunction with others, she religiously discharged. After a long life of virtuous and charitable deeds, she died in much peace, on the 15th of July, 1688, in the eightieth year of her age.*

Another of these women, who was esteemed an ornament to her profession, and who undauntedly suffered, when it fell to her lot, was Ann Downer, first married to Benjamin Greenwell, a grocer in Bishopsgate-street, and then to the celebrated George Whitehead. She was one of the first who received the doctrine of the quakers, when its ministers came to London, and at length became a preacher of it. In 1656 the was fent for to attend George Fox and his fellow-prisoners at Launceston, and travelled thither on foot, two hundred miles; on her journey she was instrumental to bring many over to the doctrine she published, some of whom were persons of account in the world. In 1658 she travelled in the fouthern counties, and the Isle of Wight. remarkably confpicuous in her day for her fingular piety, benevolence and charity, spending much of her time in visiting the poor, the imprisoned, the fick, the fatherless, and widows in their affliction; and in her exertions to do good had few equals. She died on the 27th of August, 1686, aged fixty-three, expressing to her friends, who visited her, the fentiments of refignation and lively hope, and leaving impressions of affectionate regard to her memory in the hearts of many, whom she had helped by her charitable services.

^{*} Gough, vol. iii. p, 219-223. + Id. p. 183-185.

SECT. III.

REFLECTIONS ON THE REVOLUTION,

AND THE

ACT OF TOLERATION.

'HE REVOLUTION is the grand event, in which the affecting and interesting scenes and transactions of the preceding periods, from the Reformation to the accession of William III. happily and gloriously close. Here the ftruggles of the feveral parties have their termination; and though the episcopal form of church-government obtains at last an establishment and permanent pre-eminence, yet that superiority is made easy to the other parties, by the fecurity to their respective religious professions, and by the equality among themselves, which they enjoy by the ACT of TOLERATION. Here the reader paufes with pleasure and hope; humanity rejoices, that there is a period to the animosities and calamities that had torn and afflicted this country nearly a century and half, and the prospect of better times opens before the wearied mind. The history, through which he has been led, by its various details, giveth him a strong impression of the importance and happiness of the æra to which he is at length arrived. Here despotism hath drawn its last breath; here religious liberty commenceth its reign: royal prerogative bows and yields to the voice of the people; and conscience feels itself, though not entirely emancipated, yet walking at large and breathing the open air.

Our author's narrative affords convincing and fatisfactory proofs of the importance and felicity of the new state of things to which it brings us. But yet some considerations, arising from facts not mentioned by him, may be properly presented to the reader, to heighten his sense of the deliverance effected by the Revolution. Two singular doctrines had ibeen ndustriously disseminated; viz. "That there was no

fuch thing as passive obedience for the cause of religion;

"and that kings are so far infallible, as that what religion they establish is the true worship of God in their dominion." To infinuate more universally and essectually these sentiments, they were inserted, and enlarged upon in the common almanacks.* No doubt can remain concerning the design of James II. from a review of the measures he actually executed; and yet it is useful and interesting to bring forward the secret councils from whence those measures slowed, and to exhibit the systematical plan, for which, if they were not parts of it, and first attempts at the execution of it, they were evidently calculated to prepare the way.

Sometime before the abdication of 'James, "a Memorial" was prefented to him, drawn up by a jefuit, and exhibiting the methods he should pursue, not only to root out the protestant religion, but to prevent even the possibility of its revival. The great outlines of the scheme were, "that a " council of reformation should be established, which avoid-"ing the name, as odious and offensive at the beginning. " should purfue some good and sound manner of INQUI-" SITION; nay, should order, in divers points, according to "the diligent and exact proceedings of the court of inqui-" fition in Spain:-that the authority of the church should " take place of the king's authority, and the civil powers " be subjected to the ecclesiastical:-that the state of the " catholick religion, and the fuccession of the crown, should " be fo linked together, that one might depend on and be the " affurance of the other:-that new ways of choosing par-" liaments should be followed, particularly one very extraor-"dinary, viz. that the bishop of the diocese should judge " concerning the knights of the shire, and as they were " thought fit to serve in parliament by such bishops or not, " fo they were to confirm the election or have a negative " voice in it. The catholick prince, whom God should fend, " is represented as being well able to procure such a parliament "as he would have. Many new laws were to be made, that " should quite alter the whole constitution; but it was to be " made treason for ever, for any man to propose any thing " for change of the catholick Roman faith, when it was once " fettled. As to those in low circumstances, effectual care

^{*} Crosby's History of the Baptists, vol. iii. p. 88.

" was to be taken to keep them low. New methods were to " be observed for letting of lands, disposing of children, and "ordering of fervants." The Memorial' complains, "that " in queen Mary's time, when so many were imprisoned, so "many stripped of their estates, and so many burnt, there was " a want of zeal, to the grief and discouragement of many; "that fome things were then tolerated upon constraint and "fear of further inconveniencies; and it is added, that mat-" ters are not to be patched up any more by fuch gentle and " backward proceedings. For it is laid down as a first " principle, that as foon as a good catholick prince should be established upon the throne of these nations, he must " make account, that the fecurity of himself, his crown, and " fucceffor, dependeth principally on the affurance and good " establishment of the catholick religion within his kingdom. "The propofals, in this piece, were brought forward, not " merely as measures which the writer defired to see exe-" cuted; but fuch as he apprehended, nay, was confident. "the temper and circumstances of the nation would foon " afford an opportunity to accomplish. Several things are " reckoned up, which gave great force to the Roman Catho-" licks in England. It is faid, that England would more " eafily receive popery than any other protestant country; " nay, that difficulties which arose in some catholick countries "would not be found here. All now," fays the author, " is zeal and integrity in our new clergy, (Almighty God be "thanked for it!) and no lefs in our laity, and catholick "gentlemen in England, that have borne the brunt of " perfecution." These specimens of the designs formed, are proofs to what

These specimens of the designs formed, are proofs to what extent the scheme of combining the re-establishment of popery with arbitrary power was to be carried; and shew what vast consequences were involved in the success of the spirited

opposition that led James to abdicate the throne.

Important, valuable, and happy, as was the state of things introduced by this event, especially as it affected religious liberty, the operation of it was partial and limited: when even a bill of rights, after the settlement of king William on the throce, defined our constitution, and fixed the privileges of the subject, the rights of conscience were not ascertained,

nor declared by that noble deed. The act of toleration, moved by lord Nottingham in the house of peers, and seconded by some bishops, though more out of fear than inclination,* exempted from the penal statutes then in existence protestant diffentients only, and not all of them, for the focinians are expressly excepted, nor did secure iny from the influence of the corporation and test acts. It left the English catholicks. under severe disabilities; it left many penal statutes unrepealed. The fame reign which gave us the bleffing of the toleration act, was marked by an act of another complexion; for the prince, to whom we owe the former, was prevailed on to pass another statute, adjudging heavy penalties, fines, and imprisonments, to those who should write or speak against the doctrine of the Trinity. There are claims of power over conscience not yet abolished: there are rights of conscience not yet fully recovered and secured. The very term toleration shews that religious freedom is not yet enjoyed in perfection; it indicates, that the liberty which we posses is a matter of sufferance, lenity, and indulgence, rather than the grant of justice and right. It seemeth to admit and imply a power to restrain conscience and to dictate to faith, but the exercise of which is generously waved. The time is, even now, at this distance from the Revolution, yet to come, when the enjoyment of religious liberty shall no longer be considered as a favour; the time is yet to come, when christians, of religious forms and creeds, shall be on the equal footing of brethren, and of children in the house of the same heavenly parent; the time is yet to come, when acts of toleration shall every where give place to bills of RIGHT.

But, though much is yet wanting to complete and perfect the bleffings of the Revolution; yet we cannot but review the act of toleration as a great point gained, as a noble effort towards the full emancipation of conscience. The preceding periods had been only those of oppression and thrasdom. The exertions of any to procure release from severe laws, were rather attempts to gain the power of tyrannising over conscience into their own hands, that they themselves might be free, and all other parties remain flaves, than liberal endea-yours to ascertain and secure to every one security and peace.

^{*} Sir John Reresby's Memoirs, p. 323.

in following the judgment of his own mind. The preceding ages exhibit a feries of fevere statutes following each other; from passing the act for burning of hereticks in the reign of Henry IV. to the enacting of that of uniformity, and of the Oxford conventicle acts, in the reign of Charles II. At the commencement of the Reformation, we have feen, that on the one hand they who could not admit, from religious reverence to the pope's authority, the supremacy of the king, and on the other, they who discarded any of the fix articles which he formed into a standard of faith, were alike doomed to the sentence of DEATH. In the reign of Edward VI. the pious and amiable Hooper, for refusing to wear a particular drefs, was imprisoned; and Joan Bocher, who religiously read and dispersed the New Testament, was burnt at the stake. Intolerant statutes marked the government of queen Elizabeth. Perfecution, in various forms, by laws and by prerogative, stigmatised the successive reigns of the Stuarts. In the interval, during the suspension of their power, a fevere ordinance against berefy was passed: the livings of the episcopal clergy were sequestered; those ministers fuffered under severe oppressions, and presbyterianism was found to be not more friendly to the rights of conscience, or averse from intolerance, than had been the fallen hierarchy. Amongst two despised sects, hated and persecuted by all parties, the baptists and quakers, amongst almost them only, the principles of liberty had found able and generous advocates; their writings placed the rights of conscience on a broad and liberal bottom. But they could support them by the pen only; they were never in power, and confequently had never, in this country,* an opportunity to carry their principles into practice, and to shew that they could rule according to the maxims for which, when oppreffed, they could forcibly plead.

This having been the state of things, the all of toleration, the consequence of the Revolution, was a great acquisition. It

^{*} It is faid in this country; for when the forming the government of Pennfylvania and Rhode-Island in America rested, the latter with the baptists, and the former with the quakers, to their honour it should be said, their conduct was consistent with the arguments they had advanced, and liberty of conscience, on an extensive and liberal scale, was a leading feature of each constitution.

was the first legal fanction given to the claims of conscience; it was the first charter of religious freedom; it was a valuable. important, and permanent security to the dissenting subject. It opened to him the temple of peace, and afforded the long wished-for asylum. To adopt the language of high authority: "The toleration act rendered that which was illegal "before, now legal; the diffenting way of worship is per-"mitted and allowed by that act; it is not only exempted " from punishment, but rendered innocent and lawful; it is " established; it is put under the protection, and is not merely "the connivance of the law."* It hath been followed with an univerfal good effect and happy influence; it hath been the basis of the religious liberty enjoyed ever since that period; and with respect to the state of freedom and religious enquiry in these kingdoms, it was, as it were, a NEW CREATION. Before that period darkness, in a manner, hung over the spacious field of knowledge and divine truth, and the path to it was guarded by a flaming fword. That act faid, 'Let there be light, and light there was.' "The "bounds of free enquiry were enlarged; the volume, in "which are the words of eternal life, was laid open to exa-"mination." And the state of knowledge and liberty has been, ever fince, progressive and improving.

To this general view of the effects of the REVOLUTION, it is proper to add; "that it drew confiderable confequences " after it all over Europe. It kept the reformed interest " from finking, fecured the liberty of the British and the " Netherlands, and disappointed the French of that universal "monarchy, which they had been eagerly expecting, and " had great hopes of reaching. And among other happy "fruits of it, it was not the least considerable, that it was " the means of faving the poor Vandois of Piedmont, from " utter ruin, and of their re-establishment in their own coun-These people were the remains of the primitive " christians, who were never tainted with the papal cor-" ruptions and impurities. In the year 1686, the duke of " Savoy, at the instigation of Lewis XIV. because they would " not forfake their religion, drove them from their houses " and possessions, forced them out of the vallies, and obliged

^{*} Lord Mansfield.

"them to take shelter among the Switzers and others that would afford them an asylum. But, in September 1689, eight or nine hundred of them assembled together in the woods of Nion, not far from Geneva, crossed the lake Leman in the night, and entered Savoy under the conduct of their minister M. Arnold. They marched through that country, fourteen or sisteen days journey, in which march they were obliged to climb up high mountains, force divers frait passes, well guarded by soldiers, with swords in their hands, till at length they reached their vallies, of which they took possession, and in which, under the singular protection of Providence, they maintained themselves.

"fuccessfully encountering their enemies, who at any time affaulted them."*

Here feems to be a proper place, before the history of this period is closed, to notice a noble and generous exertion of a few dissenters, which has with great good effect been refumed and perpetuated to the present times. It was the founding a school in Gravel-lane, Southwark, for the instruction of children in reading, writing, and arithmetick, and the girls in sewing and knitting, and furnishing them with books for their instruction in these arts, and with testaments, catechisms, and bibles. One Poulton had opened a school in these parts, and given publick notice that he would

^{*} Calamy's History of his own Times, MS. Dr. Calamy was told several remarkable particulars concerning this march, by Mr. Arnold, who came afterwards to England to folicit the affiftance of king William. One was, that when they were come pretty near to their vallies, they were in fuch ftraits for provisions, that they were in great fear of starving. But there came a fudden thaw, which in a night's time melted the fnow, and in the morning they discovered a considerable quantity of wheat standing in the earth, ready for the fickle, which had been left there from the preceding fummer, and had been covered all winter by the fnow; the fudden fall prevented the proprietors from reaping it at the proper season. These destitute people beheld it with admiration and thankfulness, reaped it with joy, and were supported by it after their return into their vallies, where, without fuch a supply, they might have perished. Another resource, especially for their ministers and schoolmasters, was derived from the overplus of the collections made for them in England, during the protectorship of Cromwell, which had been lodged by them, when their wants had been effectually relieved, in the hands of the magistrates of Geneva, on condition of receiving such an allowance from year to year as was agreed on. Calamy, ut fupra. teach

teach the children of the poor gratis. To counteract his defigns, and to afford the poor an easy opportunity of having their children educated in protestant principles, three worthy gentlemen, Mr. Arthur Shallet, Mr. Samuel Warburton, and Mr. Ferdinando Holland, members of Mr. Nathaniel Vincent's church, instituted this seminary, which has continued ever fince, maintained by voluntary fubscriptions, annual collections, and legacies. The number of scholars at first was 40; afterwards it increased to 50; then to 140; and has since been 200. It was the first institution of the kind, wherein the protestant diffenters were concerned; and into it objects are received without distinction of party. Such an institution has the merit of being a rational, fair, and benevolent mode of opposing superstition and bigotry, abridging no one's fecurity and rights, and leaving the event to the operation of knowledge and understanding; and it reflects honour on the spirit and resolution of its first founders, who set it on foot in the reign of the tyrannical and bigoted prince, James II. when the differents had scarcely emerged out of a state of perfecution.

It will not, it is prefumed, be thought beneath the importance and dignity of general history, to mention here two small publications which the press produced at this period; especially as the history, through which the reader has been led, records the virtuous and manly struggles made to secure the liberty of writing and publishing on the subject of religion, according to the views any might entertain, and exhibits memoirs of the progress of theological enquiries. The importance of publications is also to be estimated, not by the number of pages, but by the nature of the subject, the ability with which they are executed, and the effect they produced, or the impression they were calculated to leave

on the publick mind.

One of the pieces, both anonymous, to which we refer, was entitled, "A brief History of the Unitarians, called "also Socinians: in four Letters to a Friend." The publisher, to whom they were written, having left them some time with a gentleman, a person of excellent learning and worth, they were returned to him with a letter, expressing great approbation of them, which was printed with each

Vol. v. K edition.

edition. The first of these letters represented the Unitarian doctrine concerning the unity of God, the humanity of Christ. and the Holy Spirit, as the power and inspiration of God; aimed to confirm and prove it by a feries of scriptural arguments, and closed with a concise history of it. The design of the three following letters, was to reply to the arguments of the orthodox; and, that the answer might be full and fatisfactory, they were occupied in the illustration of all the texts usually alledged as proofs of the Trinitarian doctrine. The passages out of the Old Testament are first explained, then those out of the Gospels and Acts, and lastly those out of the Epistles and the Revelations. This mode of discussing a question, which depends purely on divine revelation, will be admitted to be proper and fair. It shewed that the author was not afraid to lodge his appeal with the fcriptures, and it was adapted to lead the reader into an investigation of their meaning according to the rules of fober criticism and just explanation. It went, particularly, to obviate a reflection cast upon the Unitarians, as exalting their reasonings above the plain and express revelation of the scriptures. The first edition of this Tract was in 12mo, in 1687. It was afterwards reprinted in a Collection of Unitarian Tracts, in quarto, 1691.

The other Tract published at this period, which I have mentioned as worthy of particular notice, was entitled "A Rational Catechism." It was distinguished, not only by the good fense, and the vein of close, but familiar, reasoning which ran through it, but by the peculiar method in which it was drawn up. Catechisms, in general, have consisted principally, if not folely, of speculative points, drawn from the theological systems of the day, and of the country where they are published. These are conveyed in an authoritative manner, as absolutely necessary to salvation; and are to be committed to memory, without any attempt to prove them by reasoning level to the capacity of the learner. The author of this Tract, conceiving that neglecting to examine into the bottom of things, was the cause of that variety of opinions from whence arose rash judgments, animosities, hatreds, and perfecution, began his piece with the first principles difcernible in human nature; and, avoiding all fentiments con-

troverted

troverted amongst Christians, confined himself to those truths only as all agree in, and which lead directly unto practice, professing not to advance every thing that he might think useful, but only what he judged most useful. The dialogue, into which form the work is thrown, divides itself into three parts; the principles of natural religion; those of christianity, or the great advantages derived from the gospel; and the rules of conduct which it supplies. The instructions and conclusions which the catechumen is led, in a great degree, to draw for himself, and by his own reflections, arise in a chain of reasoning from this principle, "that every man seeks "happiness;" which happiness must be, principally, mental and spiritual. The means of attaining to it in the knowledge of God and the practice of his will are, hence, gradually, developed. This piece is afcribed to Mr. Popple. first printed by licence, in 1688; another edition of it appeared 1690, 12mo. And it was reprinted at Amsterdam in 1712.*

* Preface to the work. Hollis's Memoirs, p. 263; and a Critical Review of it in the Bibliotheque Universelle et Historique, tom. ix. p. 95, &c.



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AN ADDITION TO VOL. IV. p. 309.

December 11, 1729.

AITING on Arthur Onflow, esq; speaker of the honourable house of commons, he was pleased to suffer me to peruse and afterwards to transcribe a marginal note, which he had written with his own hand to page 152, 153, and 154, of the first volume of my Abridgement of Mr. Baxter's Life, where the subject of which I was treating, was king Charles's celebrated declaration for ecclesiastical affairs, which bore date October 25, 1660.

I had faid, that the concessions there made were so highly pleasing, that an address of thanks was drawn up and signed by many of the dissenting ministers in and about London, &c.

The marginal note, before-mentioned, was in the words following:

" Both houses of parliament did also severally present to "the king an address of thanks for this declaration: and in "the house of commons, November 6, 1660, a committee "was appointed to bring in a bill to make the declaration " effectual, and the person first named of the committee " was ferjeant HALES, who was therefore very probably the "first mover of this bill. And as he was the next day (I "think it was fo foon) made chief lord baron, it is not " unlikely that he was defirous to leave the house of com-" mons with this mark of his moderation, as to the religious "differences of that time, and what he thought would be the proper means to heal them. But his endeavours did " not fucceed; for on the 28th of November following, the " bill being read the first time, and a question put that the " bill be read a fecond time, it paffed in the negative: the " yeas 157, the noes 183. The tellers for the yeas were Sir "Anthony Joby and Sir George Booth; for the noes, Sir Solo-" mon Swale and Mr. Palmer."

Note. "Sir Solomon Swale was afterwards discharged being a member of the house of commons, for being a popular recusant convict."*

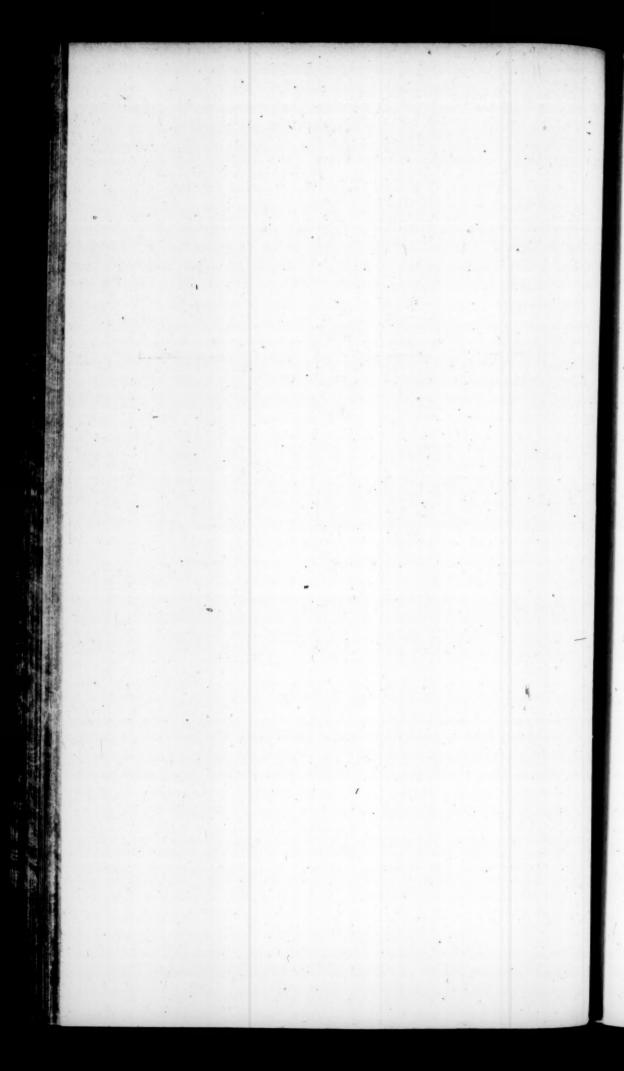
I here infert this for the use of posterity.

Dr. Calamy's History of his own Life.

APPENDIX.

VOL. V.

3



APPENDIX.

No. I.

A Declaration of certain principal Articles of Religion, set out by order of both archbishops, metropolitans, and the rest of the bishops, for the Unity of Doctrine to be taught and holden of all parsons, vicars, and curates; as well in testification of their common consent in the said doctrine, to the stopping of the mouths of them that go about to slander the ministers of the church for diversity of judgment, and as necessary for the instruction of their people; to be read by the said parsons, vicars, and curates, at their possession taking, or first entry into their cures: and also, after that yearly, at two several times; that is to say, the Sunday next following Euster-day, and St. Michael the archangel, or on some other Sunday within one month after those feasts, immediately after the gospel.

"Forasmuch as it appertaineth to all christian men, but especially to the ministers and pastors of the church, being teachers and instructors of others, to be ready to give a reason of their faith when they shall be thereunto required; I, for my part, now appointed your parson, vicar, or curate, having before mine eyes the fear of God, and the testimony of my conscience, do acknowledge for myself, and require you to affent to the same;

"Wisdom, and goodness; the maker and preserver of all things; and that in unity of this Godhead, there be three persons of one subfrance, of equal power and eternity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

2. "I believe also whatsoever is contained in the holy canonical feriptures; in the which scriptures are contained all things necessary to salvation; by the which also, all errors and hereses may sufficiently be reproved and consicted; and all doctrines and articles necessary to salvation are established. I do also most firmly believe and confess all the articles contained in the three creeds; the Nicene creed, Athanasius's creed, and our common creed, called the Apostles' creed; for these do briefly contain the principal articles of our faith, which are at large set forth in the holy scriptures.

3. " 1

3. "I do acknowledge also that church to be the spouse of Christ, "wherein the word of God is truly taught, the sacraments orderly ministered according to Christ's institution, and the authority of the keys duly used: and that every such particular church hath authority to institute, to change, and clean to put away, ceremonies, and other ecclesiastical rites, as they be superstuous or abused; and to constitute others, making more to seemliness, to order, or edification.

4. "Moreover I confess, that it is not lawful for any man to take upon him any office or ministry, either ecclesiastical or secular, but such only as are lawfully thereunto called, by the high authorities,

"according to the ordinances of the realm.

5. "Furthermore, I do acknowledge the queen's majesty's prerogative, and superiority of government of all estates, and in all
causes, as well ecclesiastical as temporal, within this realm and
other her dominions and countries, to be agreeable to God's word,
and of right to appertain to her highness, in such fort as is in the
late act of parliament expressed, and since then by her majesty's

" injunctions declared and expounded.

6. "Moreover, touching the bishop of Rome, I do acknowledge and confess, that by the scriptures and word of God, he hath no more authority than other bishops have in their provinces and diocetes, and therefore the power which he now challengeth, that is, to be the supreme head of the universal church of Christ, and so to be above all emperors, kings, and princes, is an usurped power, contrary to the scriptures and word of God, and contrary to the example of the primitive church; and therefore is for most just causes taken away and abolished in this realm.

7. "Furthermore, I do grant and confess that the book of com"mon prayer and administration of the holy sacraments, set forth by
"the authority of parliament, is agreeable to the scriptures; and that
"it is catholick and apostolick, and most for the advancing of
"God's glory, and the edifying of God's people; both for that it is
"in a tongue that may be understood of the people, and also for the

"in a tongue that may be understood of the people, and also for the doctrine and form of administration contained in the same.

8. "And although in the administration of baptism there is neither

"exorcifm, oil, falt, spittle, or hallowing of the water now used; and for that they were of late years abused and esteemed necessary, whereas they pertain not to the substance and necessary of the sacrament, and therefore be reasonably abolished; yet is the sacrament full and perfectly ministered, to all intents and purposes, agreeable

" to the institution of our Saviour Christ.

9. "Moreover, I do not only acknowledge that private masses "were never used amongst the fathers of the primitive church, I mean publick ministration and receiving of the sacrament by the priest alone, without a just number of communicants, according to "Christ's

"Christ's saying, Take ye, and eat ye, &c. but also that the doctrine that maintaineth the mass to be a propitiatory facrifice for the quick and the dead, and a mean to deliver souls out of purgatory, is neither agreeable to Christ's ordinance, nor grounded upon doctrine apostolick, but contrariwise most ungodly, and most injurious to the precious redemption of our Saviour Christ, and his only sufficient sacrifice, offered once for ever upon the altar of the cross.

"The solution of the mind also, that the holy communion or facrament of the body and blood of Christ, for the due obedience to Christ's institution, and to express the virtue of the same, ought to be ministered unto the people under both kinds: and that it is avouched by certain fathers of the church to be a plain sacrilege, to rob them of the mystical cup, for whom Christ has shed his most precious blood, seeing he himself hath said, Drink ye all of this; considering also, that in the time of the ancient doctors of the church, as Cyprian, Hierom, Augustine, Gelasius, and others, six hundred years after Christ, and more, both the parts of the facra-

" ment were ministered to the people.

Last of all, " As I do utterly disallow the extolling of images, "relicks, and feigned miracles; and also all kind of expressing God "invisible, in the form of an old man, or the Holy Ghost, in the form "of a dove; and all other vain worshipping of God, devised by "men's fantafy, besides or contrary to the scriptures; as wandering " on pilgrimages, fetting up of candles, praying upon beads, and fuch-"like fuperstition; which kind of works have no promise of reward " in scripture, but contrariwise threatnings and maledictions: so I do "exhort all men to the obedience of God's law, and to the works " of faith, as charity, mercy, piety, alms, devout and fervent prayer, "with the affection of the heart, and not with the mouth only; "godly abstinence and fasting, chastity, obedience to the rulers and "fuperior powers, with fuch-like works, and godliness of life com-"manded by God in his word; which, as St. Paul faith, bath the " promise both of this life, and of the life to come; and are works only " acceptable in God's fight.

"These things above rehearsed, though they be appointed by common order, yet do I, without all compulsion, with freedom of mind and conscience, from the bottom of my heart, and upon most sure persuasion, acknowledge to be true, and agreeable to God's word. And therefore I exhort you all to whom I have care, heartily and obediently to embrace and receive the same; that we all joining together in unity of spirit, saith and charity, may also at length be joined together in the kingdom of God, and that through the merits and death of our Saviour Jesus Christ; to whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all glory and empire, now

" and for ever. Amen."

No. II.

A Copy of the LETTER fent to the Bishops and Pastors of England, who have renounced the Roman Antichrist, and profess the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity.

The Superintendent Ministers, and Commissioners of Charges within the realm of Scotland, to their brethren the Bishops and Pastors of England, who have renounced the Roman antichrist, and do profess with them the Lord Jesus in since-rity, desire the perpetual increase of the Holy Spirit.

Y word and writ, it is come to our knowledge (reverend paftors) that divers of our dearest brethren, amongst whom are some of the best learned within that realm, are deprived from ecclesiastical function, and forbidden to preach, and fo by you, that they are ftraight to promote the kingdom of Jesus Christ, because their confciences will not fuffer to take upon them (at the commandment of authority) fuch garments as idolaters, in time of blindness, have used in their idolatry, which bruit cannot be but most dolorous to our hearts, mindful of that sentence of the apostle, saying, "if ye " bite and devour one another, take heed, left ye be confumed one of " another." We purpose not at this present to enter into the ground of that question which we hear of, either part to be agitate with greater vehemency than well liketh us; to wit, whether that fuch apparel is to be counted amongst things that are simply indifferent or not; but in the bowels of the Lord Jesus we crave that christian charity may fo prevail in you, we fay, the pastors and leaders of the flock within that realm,

That ye do not to others that which ye would not others should do to you. Ye cannot be ignorant how tender a thing the conscience of man is. All that have knowledge are not alike persuaded, your consciences reclaim not at wearing of such garments, but many thousands, both godly and learned, are otherwise persuaded, whose consciences are continually stricken with these sentences: What hath Christ Jesus to do with Belial? What fellowship is there betwixt darkness and light? If surplice, corner cap, and tippet, have been badges of idolaters in the very act of their idolatry, what hath the preachers of christian liberty, and the open rebukers of all superstition, to do with the dregs of the Romish beast? Our brethren that of conscience resuse that unprofitable apparel, do neither damn yours, or molest you that use such vain trisses: if ye shall do the like to them, we doubt not but therein ye shall please God, and comfort the hearts of many which are wounded with extremity, which is used against

those godly, and our beloved brethren. Colour of rhetorick, or manly perfuafion, will we use none, but charitably we defire you to call that fentence of pity to mind: - Feed the flock of God which is committed to your charge, caring for them, not by constraint, but willingly; not as though ye were lords over God's heritage, but that ye may be examples to the flock. And further also, we defire you to meditate that fentence of the apostle, saying, Give none offence, neither to the Jews nor to the Grecians, nor to the church of God. In what condition of time ye and we both travel in the promoting of Christ's kingdom, we suppose you not to be ignorant. And therefore we are more bold to exhort you to walk more circumfpectly, than that for fuch vanities the godly should be troubled. For all things that may feem lawful, edify not. If the commandment of authority urge the conscience of yours and our brethren, more than they can bear; we unfeignedly crave of you, that ye remember, that ye are called the light of the world and the earth.

All civil authority hath not the light of God always shining before their eyes in their statutes and commandments; but their affections oft-time savour too much of the earth, and of worldly wisdom.

And therefore we think that ye should boldly oppone yourselves to all power, that will or dare extol itself, not only against God, but also against all such as do burthen the consciences of the faithful, farther than God hath burthened them by his own word. herein we confess our offence, in that we have entered farther in reasoning than we purposed and promised at the beginning: and therefore we shortly return to our former humble supplication, which is, that our brethren, who among you refuse the romish rags, may find of you, the prelates, fuch favours as our Head and Mafter commands every one of his members to shew one to another, which we look to receive of your gentleness, not only for that ye fear to offend God's majesty, in troubling of your brethren for such vain trifles; but also because ye will not refuse the humble requests of us your brethren, and fellow preachers of Christ Jesus, in whom, albeit there appear no great worldly pomp, yet we suppose ye will not so far despise us, but that ye will esteem us to be of the number of those that fight against that Roman antichrist, and travel, that the kingdom of Christ Jesus universally may be maintained and advanced. The days are evil; iniquity abounds; christian charity (alas!) is waxen cold; and therefore we ought the more diligently to watch: for the hour is uncertain when the Lord Jesus shall appear, before whom we your brethren, and ye, may give an account of our administration.

And thus, in conclusion, we once again crave favour to our brethren, which granted, ye in the Lord shall command us in things of double more importance. The Lord Jesus rule your hearts in his true fear to the end, and give unto you and unto us victory over that conjured enemy of all true religion; to wit, over that Roman

antichrift,

antichrift, whose wounded head Satan, by all means, labours to cure again, but to destruction shall he and his maintainers go, by the power of the Lord Jesus: to whose mighty power and protection we heartily commit you.

Subscribed by the hands of superintendents, one part of ministers, and scribed in our general assemblies and fourth session thereof. At

Edinburgh, the 28th day of December, 1566.

Your loving brethren, and fellow preachers, in Christ Jesus.

Jo. CRAIG,
DA. LYNDESAY,
GUIL. GISLISOMUS,
Jo. SPOTTISWOOD,
Jo. Row,

ROB. PONT,
Jo. WIRAM,
JACO. MAILVIL,
JO. ERSKIN,
NIC. SPITAL.

No. III.

John Fox's Letter to Queen ELIZABETH, to diffuade her from burning two Dutch Anabaptists for Herefy in Smithfield. 1575.

CERENISSIMA beatissima princeps, regina illustrissima, patriæ decus, fæculi ornamentum! Ut nihil ab animo meo omnique expectatione abfuit longius quam ut majestatis tuæ amplissimam excellentiam molesta unquam interpellatione obturbarem; ita vehementer dolet filentium hoc, quo hactenus constanter sum usus, non eadem constantia perpetuo tueri ita ut volebam licuisse. Ita nuno præter spem ac opinionem meam nescio qua infelicitate evenit, ut quod omnium volebam minime, id contra me maxime faciat hoc Qui cum ita vixerim hucufque, ut molestus fuerim nemini, invitus nunc cogor contra naturam principi etiam ipfi effe importunus, non re ulla aut caufa mea, fed aliena inductus calamitate. Quæ quo acerbior fit et luctuofior, hoc acriores mihi addit ad deprecandum stimulos. Nonnullos intelligo in Anglia hîc esse non Anglos, fed adventitios, Belgas quidem opinor, partim viros, partim feminas, nuper ob improbata dogmata in judicium advocatos. Quorum aliquot feliciter reducti publica luerunt pœnitentia; complures in exilium funt condemnati, idque rectiffime meo judiçio factum esse arbitror. Jam ex hoc numero unum esse aut alterum audio, de quibus ultimum exustionis supplicium (nisi succurrat tua pietas) brevi est statuendum. Qua una in re duo contineri perspicio, quorum

quorum alterum ad errorum pravitatem, alterum ad fupplicii acerbitatem attinet. Ac erroribus quidem ipsis nihil possit absurdius esse, fanus nemo est qui dubitat, mirorque tam fæda opinionum portenta in quosquam potuisse Christianos cadere. Sed ita habet humanæ infirmitatis conditio, fi divina paululum luce destituti nobis relinquimur, quo non ruimus præcipites? Atque hoc nomine Christo gratias quam maximas habeo, quòd Anglorum hodie neminem huie infaniæ affinem video. Quod igitur ad phanaticas istas fectas attinet, eas certe in republica nullo modo fovendas esse, sed idonea comprimendas correctione censeo. Verum enim vero ignibus ac flammis pice ac fulphure æstuantibus viva miserorum corpora torrefacere, judicii magis cœcitate quam impetu voluntatis errantium, durum istud ac Romani magis exempli esse quam evangelicæ consuetudinis videtur, ac plane ejulmodi, ut nisi a Romanis pontificibus, authore Innocentio tertio, primum profluxisset, nunquam istum Perilli taurum quisquam in mitem Christi ecclesiam importavisset. Non quod maleficiis delecter, aut erroribus cujusquam faveam, dicta hæc effe velim; vitæ hominum, iple homo cum fim, faveo; ideoque faveo, non ut erret, sed ut resipiscat: ac neque hominum solum, utinam et pecudibus ipsis opitulari possem. Ita enim sum, (stulte fortassis hæc de meipfo, at vere dico) macellum ipfum, ubi mactantur etiam pecudes, vix prætereo, quin tacito quodam doloris fenfu mens refugiat. Atque equidem in eo Dei ipfius valde admiror, venerorque toto pectore clementiam, qui in jumentis illis brutis et abjectis, quæ facrificiis olim parabantur, id prospexerat, ne prius ignibus mandarentur quam fanguis eorum ad basim altaris effunderetur. Unde disceremus, in exigendis suppliciis, quamvis justis, non quid omnino rigori liceat, fed ut clementia fimul adhibita rigoris temperet asperitatem.

Quamobrem si tantum mihi apud principis tanti majestatem audere liceret supplex pro Christo rogarem clementissimam hanc regiæ sublimitatis excellentiam, præ authoritate hac mea (lege tua) qua ad vitam multorum consecrandum pellere (l. conservandam pollere) te divina voluit clementia, ut vita si fieri possit, (quid enim non posset iis in rebus authoritas tua?) miserorum parcatur, salteni ut horrori obsistatur, atque in aliud quodcunque commutetur fupplicii genus. Sunt ejectiones, inclusiones retrusæ, sunt vincula, sunt perpetua exilia, funt stigmata et πλήγματα aut etiam patibula; id unum valde deprecor, ne piras ac flammas Smithfieldianas jam diu faustissimis tuis auspiciis huc usque sopitas, sinas nune recandescere. Quod si ne id quidem obtineri possit, id saltem omnibus supplicandi modis esslagito, τέτο το πελαεγικόν pectoris tui implorans, ut mensem tamen unum aut alterum nobis concedas, quo interim experiamur, an a periculofis erroribus dederit dominus ut refanescant, ne cum corporum jactura, animæ pariter cum corporibus de æterno periclitentur exitio.*

^{*} Fuller's Church History of Britain, p. 104, 105.

No. IV.

A DIRECTORY of Church government, anciently contended for, and, as far as the times would fuffer, practifed by the first Non-conformists in the days of queen Elizabeth, found in the study of the most accomplished divine Mr. Thomas Cartwright, after his decease.

THE SACRED DISCIPLINE OF THE CHURCH DESCRIBED IN THE WORD OF GOD.

THE discipline of Christ's church, that is necessary for all times, is delivered by Christ, and set down in the holy scriptures; therefore the true and lawful discipline is to be fetched from thence, and from thence alone. And that which resteth upon any other foundation ought to esteemed unlawful and counterfeit.

Of all particular churches, there is one and the same right, order, and form: therefore also no one may challenge to itself any power over others;

nor any right which doth not alike agree to others.

The ministers of publick charges, in every particular church, ought to be called and appointed to their charges by a lawful ecclesiastical calling, such as hereafter is set down.

All these for the divers regard of their several kinds are of equal

power amongst themselves.

No man can be lawfully called to publick charge in any church, but he that is fit to discharge the same. And none is to be accounted fit, but be that is endued with the common gifts of all the godly; that is, with saith, and a blameless life: and surther also, with those that are proper to that ministry wherein he is to be used, and necessary for the executing of the same; whereupon, for trial of those gifts, some convenient way and examination is to be used.

The party to be called must first be elected; then he is to be ordained to that charge whereunto he is chosen, by the prayers of that church whereunto he is to be admitted; the mutual duties of him and of the

church being before laid open.

The Ministers of the Church are, first, they that are ministers of the word. In their examination, it is specially to be taken heed unto, that they be apt to teach, and tried men, not utterly unlearned, nor newly planted and converted to the faith.

Now these ministers of the word are, first, Pastors, which do administer the word and sacraments, then Teachers, which are occupied in

wholesome doctrine.

Besides, there are also Elders, which watch over the life and behaviour

of every man, and Deacons, which have care over the poor.

Further, in every particular church there ought to be a Presbytery, which is a Consistory, and, as it were, a Senate of Elders. Under the name

name of Elders here are contained, they who in the church minister

dostrine, and they who are properly called Elders.

By the common counsel of the eldership, all things are directed that belong to the state of their church. First, such as belong to the guidance of the whole body of it in the holy and common assembly, gathered together in the name of the Lord, that all things may be done in them duly, orderly, and to edistication. 2. Then also such as pertain to particular persons. First, to all the members of that church, that the good may enjoy all the privileges that belong unto them, that the wicked may be corrected with ecclesiastical censures, according to the quality of the fault, private and publick, by admonishing and by removing either from the Lord's supper by suspension, (as it is commonly called) or out of the church by excommunication. The which belong specially to the ministers of publick charge in the church to their calling, either to be begun or ended, and ended either by relieving, or punishing them, and that for a time by suspension, or altogether by deposition.

For directing of the eldership, let the pastors be set over it; or if there be more pastors than one in the same church, let the pastors do it in their turns.

But yet in all the greater affairs of the church, as in excommunicating of any, and in chufing and deposing of church ministers, nothing may be concluded without the knowledge and consent of the church.

Particular churches ought to yield mutual help one to another; for

which cause they are to communicate amongst themselves.

The end of this communicating together is, that all things in them may be so directed, both in regard of doctrine, and also of discipline, as by the

word of God they ought to be.

Therefore the things that belong hereunto are determined by the common opinion of those who meet so to communicate together; and what soever is to be amended, furthered, or procured, in any of those several churches that telong to that assembly. Wherein albeit no particular church hath power over another, yet every particular church of the same resort, meeting and counsel, ought to obey the opinion of more churches with whom they communicate.

For holding of these meetings and assemblies, there are to be chosen, by every church belonging to that assembly, principal men from among the elders, who are to have their instructions from them, and so to be sent to the assembly. There must also be a care had, that the things they shall return to have been godly agreed on by the meetings, be diligently observed

by the churches.

Further, in such assemblies there is also to be chosen one that may be set over the assemblies, who may moderate and direct them. His duty is to see that the assemblies be held godly, quiet, and comely: therefore it belongeth unto him to begin and end the conference with prayer; to know every man's instructions; to propound in order the things that are to be handled; to gather their opinions, and to propound what is the opinion of the greater part. It is also the part of the rest of the assembly to speak their opinions of the things propounded godly and quietly.

The

The fynodical Discipline gathered out of the synods and use of the churches which have restored it according to the word of God, and out of sundry books that are written of the same, and referred unto certain heads.

Of the Necessity of a Calling.

LET no man thrust himself into the executing of any part of publick charge in the administration of the word, sacraments, discipline, or care over the poor. Neither let any such sue or seek for any publick charge of the church: but let every one tarry until he be lawfully called.

The manner of entering and determining of a Calling, and against a ministry of no certain place; and the desertion of a church.

LET none be called but unto some certain charge ordained of God, and to the exercising of the same in some particular congregation: and he that is so called, let him be so bound to that ——church, that he may not after be of any other, or depart from it without the consent thereof. Let none be called, but they that have first subscribed the confession of doctrine and of discipline: whereof let them be admonished to have copies with themselves.

In the examination of ministers, the testimony of the place from whence they come is to be demanded, whereby it may understood what life and conversation he hath been of, and whether he hath been addicted to any herefy, or to the reading of any heretical books, or to curious and ftrange questions, and idle speculations; or rather, whether he be accounted found and confenting in all things to the dostrine received in the church. Whereunto if he agree, he is also to expound fomé part of the holy scriptures twice or oftner, as it shall feem meet to the examiners, and that before the conference, and that church which is interested. Let him also be demanded of the principal heads of divinity: and whether he will diligently execute and discharge his ministry; and in the execution thereof propound unto himself, not his own desires and commodities, but the glory of God and edification of the church. Laftly, whether he will be studious and careful to maintain and preserve wholesome doctrine, and ecclefiaftical discipline. Thus let the minister be examined, not only by one eldership, but also by some greater meeting and assembly.

Of Election.

BEFORE the election of a minister, and the deliberation of the conference concerning the same, let there be a day of fast kept in the church interested.

Of the Place of exercifing this Calling.

ALBEIT it be lawful for a minister, upon just occasion, to preach in another church than that whereof he is minister; yet none may exercise any ordinary ministry elsewhere, but for a certain time, upon great occasion, and by the consent of his church and conference.

Of the office of the Ministers of the Word; and first of the order of Liturgy or Common Prayer.

LET the minister that is to preach, name a psalm, or a part of a pfalm (beginning with the first, and so proceeding) that may be fung by the church, noting to them the end of their finging, (to wit) the glory of God and their own edification. After the pfalm, let a fhort admonition to the people follow, of preparing themselves to pray duly unto God: then let there be made a prayer containing a general confession; first of the guilt of fin, both original and actual; and of the punishment which is due by the law for them both: then also of the promise of the gospel, and in respect of it, supplication of pardon for the faid guilt and punishment, and petition of grace promised, as for the duties of the whole life, so especially for the godly expounding and receiving of the word. Let this petition be concluded with the Lord's prayer. After the fermon, let prayer be made again; first, for grace to profit by the doctrine delivered, the principal heads thereof being remembered; then for all men, but chiefly for the univerfal church, and for all estates and degrees of the people; which is likewise to be ended with the Lord's prayer and the finging of a pfalm, as before. Last of all, let the congregation be difmiffed with some convenient form of bleffing taken out of the scripture; such as is, Numb. vi. 24. 2 Cor. xiii. 14.

Of Preaching.

Let him that shall preach choose some part of the canonical scripture to expound, and not of the apocrypha. Further, in his ordinary ministry, let him not take postils, (as they are called) but some whole book of the holy scripture, especially of the New Testament, to expound in order: in choice whereof regard is to be had both of the minister's ability, and of the edification of the church.

He that preacheth must perform two things; the first, that his speech be uncorrupt; which is to be considered both in regard of the doctrine, that it be holy, sound, wholesome and profitable to edification; not devilish, heretical, leavened, corrupt, fabulous, curous, or contentious; and also in respect of the manner of it, that it be proper to the place which is handled, that is, which either is contained plainly in the very words; or if it be gathered by contequent, that the same be fit and clear, and such as may rise upon the property of the word, grace of speech, and suit of the matter; and

not be allegorical, strange, wrested, or far fetched. Now let that which is such, and chiefly which is fittest for the times and occasions of the church, be delivered. Further, let the explication, confirmation, enlargement, and application, and the whole treatise and handling of it, be in the vulgar tongue; and let the whole confirmation and proof be made by arguments, testimonies, and examples, taken only out of the holy scriptures, applied fitly and according to the

natural meaning of the places that are alledged.

The fecond thing to be performed by him that preacheth, is a reverend gravity: this is confidered first in the stile, phrase, and manner of speech, that it be spiritual, pure, proper, simple, and applied to the capacity of the people; nor fuch as human wisdom teacheth, nor favouring of new-fangledness, nor either so affectate as it may ferve for pomp and oftentation, or so careless and base, as becometh not ministers of the word of God. Secondly, it is also to be regarded as well in ordering the voice, in which a care must be had, that (avoiding the keeping always of one tune) it may be equal, and both rife and fall by degrees: as also in ordering the gesture, wherein (the body being upright) the guiding and ordering the whole body is to follow the voice, there being avoided in it all unfeemly gestures of the head, or other parts, and often turning of the body to divers fides. Finally, let the gesture be grave, modest and feemly, not utterly none, nor too much neither, like the gestures of plays or fencers.

These things are to be performed by him that preacheth; whereby, when need requireth, they may be examined who are trained and exercised to be made fit to preach: let there be, if it may be, every sabbath-day, two sermons, and let them that preach always endeavour to keep themselves within one hour, especially on the week days. The use of preaching at burials is to be left as it may be done conveniently; because there is danger that they may nourish the superstition of some, or be abused to pomp and vanity.

Of the Catechifm.

LET the catechism be taught in every church. Let there be two forts. One more large applied to the delivering of the sum of religion by a suite and order of certain places of the scriptures, according to which some point of the holy doctrine may be expounded every week. Another of the same fort, but shorter, fit for the examination of the rude and ignorant before they be admitted to the Lord's supper.

Of the other parts of Liturgy or divine Service.

ALL the rest of the liturgy or divine service consistes in the administration of the sacraments, and, by the custom of the church, in the blessing of marriage: the most commodious form thereof is that

that which is used by the churches that have reformed their discipline according to the word of God.

Of Sacraments.

LET only a minister of the word, that is, a preacher, minister the facraments, and that after the preaching of the word, and not in any other place than in the publick assemblies of the church.

Of Baptism.

WOMEN only may not offer unto baptism those that are to be baptized, but the father, if it may be, or in his name some other. They which present unto baptism, ought to be persuaded not to give those that are baptized the names of God or of Christ, or of angels, or of holy offices, as of baptist, evangelist, &c. nor such as savour of paganism or popery; but chiefly such whereof there are examples in the holy scriptures, in the names of those who are reported in them to have been godly and virtuous.

Of the Communion.

LET the time of celebrating the communion be made known eight days before, that the congregation may prepare themselves, and that the elders may do their duty in going to and visiting whom they ought.

Of signifying their Names that are to communicate.

LET them which before have not been received to the Lord's table, when they first desire to come to it, give their names to the minister seven days before the communion, that care of enquiring of them may be committed to the elders; that if there be any cause of hindrance, there may be stay made betime; but if there be no such thing, let them proceed (where need may be) to the examining of their faith, before the communion. Let this whole treatise of discipline be read in the consistory: and let the ministers, elders and deacons, be censured one after another; yet so that the minister concerning doctrine be censured of ministers only.

Let them only be admitted to the communion, that have made confession of their faith, and submitted themselves to the discipline; unless they shall bring letters testimonial of good credit from some other place, or shall approve themselves by some other sufficient testimony.

Children are not to be admitted to the communion before they be of the age of fourteen years, except the confiftory shall otherwise determine.

On the fabbath-day next before the communion, let mention be made in the fermon of the examination, whereunto the apostle exhorteth, and of the peace that is by faith; in the day of the communion,

nion, let there be speech of the doctrine of the sacraments, and especially of the Lord's supper.

Of Fasting.

LET the day of fasting be published by the pastor according to the advice of the consistory, either for supplication, for turning away of calamities present, or for petition of some special grace. Let the sermons upon the same day, before and after noon, (as on the Lord's day) be such as may be fit for the present occasion.

Of Holidays.

HOLIDAYS are conveniently to be abolished.

Of Marriage.

LET espousing go before marriage. Let the words of espousing be of the present time, and without condition, and before sufficient witnesses on both sides. It is to be wished, that the minister, or an elder, be present at the espousals, who, having called upon God, may admonish both parties of their duties. First, may have care of avoiding the degrees forbidden both by the law of God and man: and then they may demand of them, whether they be free from any bond of marriage; which if they profess and be strangers, he may also require sufficient testimony. Further also, they are to be demanded, whether they have been married before, and of the death of the party with whom they were married, which if they acknowledge and be strangers, he may demand convenient testimony of the death of the other party. Finally, let them be asked if they be under the government of any? whether they whom it concerneth have consented?

The espousals being done in due order, let them not be dissolved, though both parties should consent. Let the marriage be solemnized within two months after. Before the marriage let the promise be published three several sabbath days; but first, let the parties espoused, with their parents or governors, desire the publishing thereof, of the minister and two elders at the least, that they may be demanded of those things that are needful; and let them require to see the instrument of the covenant of the marriage, or at least sufficient testimony of the espousals. Marriage may be solemnized and blessed upon any ordinary day of publick prayer, saving upon a day of fast.

Of Schools.

LET children be instructed in schools, both in other learning, and especially in the catechism, that they may repeat it by heart, and understand it: when they are so instructed, let them be brought to the Lord's supper, after they have been examined by the minister, and allowed by him.

Of Students of Divinity, and their Exercises.

IN every church where it may conveniently be done, care is to be had that fome poor scholars, studious of divinity, being fit for theological exercises, and especially for expounding of holy scripture, may, by the liberality of the godly rich, be taught and trained up to preach.

Let that exposition, as often as it shall be convenient to be had, be in the presence at least of one minister, by whose presence they may be kept in order, and in the same fort (as touching the manner of preaching) that publick sermons are made; which being ended, let the other students (he being put apart that was speaker) note wherein he hath sailed in any of those things that are to be performed by him that preacheth publickly, as is set down before: of whose opinion let the minister that is present, and is moderator of their exercise, judge and admonish the speaker as he shall think meet.

Of Elders.

LET the elders know every particular house and person of the church, that they may inform the minister of the condition of every one, and the deacons of the sick and poor, that they may take care to provide for them: they are not to be perpetual; neither yet easily to be changed.

Of Consistories.

IN the confiftory the most voices are to be yielded unto. In it only ecclesiastical things are to be handled. Of them, first they are to be dealt with such as belong to the common direction of the publick assembly, in the order of liturgy, or divine service, sermon, prayers, sacraments, marriages, and burials. Then with such also as pertain to the oversight of every one, and their particular deeds. Further, they are to cause such things as shall be thought meet, to be registered and written in a book. They are also to cause to be written in another book, the names of them that are baptized, with the names of their parents and sureties: likewise of the communicants. Further also are to be noted their names that are married, that die, and to whom letters testimonial are given.

Of the Cenfures.

NONE is to be complained of unto the confiftory, unless first the matter being uttered with filencing the parties name, if it seem meet so to be done by the judgment of the consistory.

In private and less faults the precept of Christ, Matt. xviii, is to

be kept.

Greater and publick offences are to be handled by the confistory. Further, publick offences are to be esteemed, first, Such as are done openly before all, or whomsoever, the whole church knowing of it. Secondly, Such as be done in a publick place, albeit few know it.

Thirdly, That are made such by pertinacy and contempt. Fourthly, That for the heinousness of the offence are to be punished with some

grievous civil punishment.

They that are to be excommunicated, being in publick charge in the church, are to be deposed also from their charges. They also are to be discharged that are unfit for the ministry, by reason of their ignorance, or of some incurable disease; or by any other such cause, are disabled to perform their ministry: but in the rooms of such as are disabled by means of sickness or age, let another be placed without the reproach of him that is discharged; and surther, so as the reverence of the ministry may remain unto him, and he may be provided for, liberally and in good order.

When there is question concerning an heretick, complained of to the consistory, straight let two or three neighbour ministers be called, men godly and learned, and free from that suspicion, by whose opinion he may be suspended, till such time as the conference may take

knowledge of his caufe.

The obstinate, after admonition by the consistory, though the fault have not been so great, are to be suspended from the communion; and if they continue in their obstinacy, this shall be the order to proceed to their excommunication. Three several sabbath-days after the sermon, publickly let be declared the offence committed by the offender. The first sabbath let not the offender's name be published: the second let it be declared, and withal a certain day of the week named, to be kept for that cause in fasting and prayer: the third let warning be given of his excommunicating to follow the next sabbath after, except there may be shewed some sufficient cause to the contrary: so upon the fourth sabbath-day, let the sentence of excommunication be pronounced against him, that his spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord.

He that hath committed great offences, opprobrious to the church, and to be grievously punished by the magnifrate's authority; albeit he profess his repentance in words, yet for the trial thereof, and to take away the offence, let him for a time be kept from the communion; which how often and how long it is to be done, let the consistory, according to their discretion, determine; after which, if the party repent, he is brotherly to be received again, but not until he have openly professed his repentance before the church, by consent

whereof he should have been excommunicated.

If the ministers of any publick charge of the church commit any fuch thing, they are to be deposed from their charge.

Of the Affemblies of the Church.

PARTICULAR churches are to communicate one with another, by common meetings and reforts: in them only ecclefiaftical matters are to be handled, and of those, only such as pertain to the churches

of that refort; concerning other churches, unless they be defired, they are to determine nothing farther than to refer fuch matters to

their next common and great meeting.

Let the order of proceeding in them be this: first, let the survey be taken of those that are present, and the names of those that are absent, and should be there, be noted, that they may give a reason at their next meeting of their absence, or be censured by the judgment of the affembly. Next, let the acts of the last affembly of that kind be read, that if any of the same remain unfinished, they may be dispatched: then, let those things be dealt in that are properly belonging to the present assembly; where first the instructions sent from the churches are to be delivered by every one in order, as they fit together, with their letters of credence. Secondly, Let the flate of the churches of that refort be confidered, to wit, how they are instructed and guided: whether the holy doctrine and discipline be taught and exercised in them; and whether the ministers of publick charges do their duty, and fuch like. Furthermore, they shall determine of those things that do appertain to the common state of all the churches of that refort, or unto any of the fame; which way may be fufficient for the overfight of the churches. Lastly, if it feem meet, the delegates prefent may be censured.

They that are to meet in fuch affemblies are to be chosen by the consent of the churches of that affembly and conference, to whom it

may appertain.

Let such only be chosen that exercise publick function in the church, of ministry or eldership, and which have subscribed to the doctrine and discipline, and have promised to behave themselves according to the word of God: notwithstanding, it may be lawful also to be present for other elders and other ministers; and likewise (if the assembly think it meet) for deacons, and for students in divinity, especially those that exercise themselves in expounding the holy scriptures in the conferences, and be asked their opinion; which in students is to this end, that their judgment, in handling matters ecclesiastical, may be both tried and sharpened. But they only are to give voice which are chosen by the churches, and have brought their instructions signed from them.

If there fall out any very weighty matter to be consulted of, let notice of it be given to the moderator of the assembly next going before, or to the minister of that church where the next meeting is to be: the same is to send word of it in due time to the minister of every church of that assembly, that they may communicate it aforehand with those to whom it appertaineth, that the delegates resorting to the next

meeting may understand and report their judgments.

In appointing of the place for the affembly, regard must be had of the convenient distance, and other commodities, that no part may justly complain that they are burthensome above others. In every fuch ecclefialtical affembly, it is meet there be a moderator: he is to have charge of the affembly, to fee it kept in good order. He is always, if it may be conveniently, to be changed.

The choice is to be in this manner:

The moderator of the former affembly of that kind, or, in his absence, the minister of the church where they meet, having first prayed fitly to that purpose, is to move the assembly to choose a moderator. He being chosen, is to provide that the things done in the assembly may be written, that the delegates of every church may write them out, and communicate them with the conferences from

whence they came.

The moderator is also, by the order and judgment of the assembly, to give answer, either by speech or by letters, to such as desire any answer; and to execute censures, if any be to be executed. Further, he is to procure all things to be done in it, godly and quietly: exhorting to meekness, moderation of spirit, and for bearing one of another where need shall be, and referring it to the assembly to take order for such as are obstinate and contentious. Lastly, he is to remember them of the next meeting following, with thanks for their pains, and exhortation to proceed cheerfully in their callings; and so courteously to dismiss the assembly. Before such time none may depart without leave of the assembly.

Those assemblies, according to their kinds, have great authority, if they be greater, and less if they be less. Therefore (unless it be a plain act, and manifest unto all) if any think himself injured by the less meeting, he may appeal still unto a greater, till he come to a general council; so that he ascend orderly from the less to the next greater. But it is to be understood that the sentence of the assemblies be holden firm, until it be otherwise judged by an assembly of greater

authority.

Affemblies or Meetings are either Conferences or Synods.

CONFERENCES are the meetings of the elders of a few churches, as for example of twelve. There are to meet in a conference, chosen of the eldership of every particular church, one minister, and one

elder. The conferences are to be kept once in fix weeks.

They are specially to look into the state of the churches of that resort and conference; examining particularly these several points: Whether all things be done in them according to the holy doctrine and discipline of the gospel; to wit, whether any questions be moved concerning any point of doctrine? Whether any questions be moved concerning any point of doctrine? Whether the ecclesiastical discipline be duly observed? Whether any minister be wanting in any of those churches, that a sufficient one in due time may be procured? Whether the other ministers of publick charge in the church be appointed in every congregation? Whether care be had of schools, and for the poor? Finally, they are to be demanded wherein any of them needeth

needeth the advice of the conference, for the advancement of the

gospel amongst them.

Before the end of the meeting, if it shall be so thought good by them, let one of the ministers assembled in conference, either chosen by voice, or taking it by turn, preach publickly. Of his speech, let the rest judge among themselves, (the elders being put apart) and admonish him brotherly, if there be any cause, examining all things according to those rules that are before declared in the chapter concerning the things that are to be performed by those that preach.

Of Synods.

A SYNOD is the meeting of chosen men of many conferences: in them let the whole treatise of discipline be read: in them also (other things first being finished, as was said before) let all those that are present be censured, (if it may be done conveniently) and let them also have a communion in and with the church where they were called.

There are two forts of fynods; the first is particular, which comprehendeth both the provincial and national synod. A provincial synod is the meeting of the chosen men of every conference, within the province. A province containeth four-and-twenty conferences.

A fit way to call a provincial council may be this: the care thereof (except themselves will determine of it) may be committed to the particular eldership of some conference within the province; which, by advice of the same conference, may appoint the place and time

for the meeting of the provincial fynod.

To that church or elderthip are to be fefft the matters that feemed, to the particular conferences, more difficult for them to take order in, and fuch as belong to the churches of the whole province; which is to be done diligently, and in good time, that the fame may, in due feason, give notice of the place and time of the synod, and of the matters to be debated therein, that they which shall be fent may come the better prepared, and judge of them according to the advice of the conferences.

Two ministers, and as many elders, are to be sent from every conference unto the provincial synod. The same is to be held every half year, or oftener, till the discipline be settled. It is to be held three months before every national synod; that they may prepare and make ready those things that pertain to the national. I he acts of the provincial synod are to be sent unto the national, by the eldership of that church in which it was holden; and every minister is to be surnished with a copy of them, and with the reasons of the same. A national synod, or convocation, is a meeting of the chosen men of every province, within the dominion of the same nation and civil government. The way to call it, (unless it shall determine otherwise)

wise) may be the same with the provincial, that is, by the eldership of some particular church, which shall appoint the time and place of the next national convocation; but not otherwise than by the advice

of their provincial fynod.

Out of every provincial fynod there are to be chosen three ministers, and as many elders, to be sent to the national. They are to handle the things pertaining to the churches of the whole nation or kingdom, as the doctrine, discipline, ceremonies, things not decided by inferior meetings, appeals, and such like. By the order of the same, one is to be appointed which may gather into one book the notes of every particular church.

Thus much for particular meetings; the universal followeth, which is called a general, or œcumenical council; which is a meeting of the chosen men of every national synod. The acts of all such council

are to be registered and reported in a book.

The discipline, intitled, the Discipline of the Church, described in the word of God, as far as we can judge, is taken and drawn from the most pure fountain of the word of God; and containeth in it the discipline of the church that is necessary, essential, and common to all

ages of the church.

The fynodical also adjoined, as it resteth upon the same foundations, is likewise necessary and perpetual; but as far as it is not expressly confirmed by authority of the holy scripture, but is applied to the use and times of the church, as their diverse states may require, according to the analogy and general rules of the same scripture, is to be judged profitable for the churches that receive it, but may be changed in such things as belong not to the essence of the discipline upon a like godly reason, as the diverse estates of the church may require.

The Form of the Subscription.

THE brethren of the conference of N. whose names are here under-written, have subscribed this discipline after this manner:— This discipline we allow as a godly discipline, and agreeable to the word of God; (yet so as we may be satisfied in the things hereunto noted) and desire the same so acknowledged by us, to be furthered by all lawful means; that by publick authority of the magistrate, and of our church, it may be established.

Which thing, if it may be obtained of her right excellent Majesty, and other the magistrates of this kingdom, we promise that we will do nothing against it, whereby the publick peace of the church may be troubled. In the mean time we promise to observe it so far as it may be lawful for us so to do, by the publick laws of this kingdom,

and by the peace of our church.

No. V.

A Letter of the Puritan Ministers imprisoned, to her Majesty, in Vindication of their Innocence; dated April 1592.

" MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENT MAJESTY,

" THERE is nothing, right gracious fovereign, next to the faving " mercy of Almighty God, that can be more comfortable "than your highness's favour, as to all other your faithful and dutiful "fubjects, fo to us your Majesty's most humble suppliants, who are "by our calling ministers of God's holy word; and by our present " condition now, and of long time, prisoners in divers prisons in " and about the city of London; for which cause our most humble " fuit is, that it may please your most excellent Majesty, graciously to " understand our necessary answer to such grievous charges as we " hear to be informed against us, which, if they were true, might be " just cause of withdrawing for ever from us your highness's gracious " protection and favour, which above all other earthly things we " most desire to enjoy. The reason of our trouble is, a suspicion " that we should be guilty of many heinous crimes; but these sup-" posed crimes we have not been charged with in any due and ordinary course of proceeding, by open accusation and witnesses. But being " called up to London by authority of some of your Majesty's com-" millioners in causes ecclesiastical, we have been required by them to " take an oath of inquisition, or office, as it is called; for not taking " whereof we were first committed to prison, and since have conti-" nued there a long time, notwithstanding that all of us, save one, " have been deprived of our livings, and degraded of our ministry. "Wherefore, for that the oath is the next and immediate cause " of our trouble, we have made our answer first to that, and then

" after also to the crimes that are suggested, and secretly informed

" against us.

THE OATH.

"As for the oath, the reason why we took it not, is because it is with-" out limitation of any certain matter, infinite and general, to answer "whatfoever shall be demanded of us. Of this kind of oath we find " neither rule nor example in the word of God; but contrariwife, "both precepts and precedents of all lawful oaths reported in the " fame tend to this, that an oath ought to be taken with judgment, " and fo as he that fweareth may fee the bounds of his oath, and to "what condition it does bind him, &c. But this oath is to enquire of our private speeches and conferences, with our dearest and nearest "friends; yea, of the very fecret thoughts and intents of our hearts, "that so we may furnish both matter of accusation and evidence of " proof against ourselves, which was not used to be done in causes of

"herefy or high-treason; for these are the words of the statutes of your most noble father, Henry VIII.* For that the most expert and best learned cannot escape the danger of such captious interrogatories (as the law calleth them) which are accustomed to be administered by the ordinaries of this realm; as also that it standeth not with the right order of justice, or good equity, that any person should be convicted, or put to the loss of life, good name, or goods, unless it be by due accusation and witness, or by presentment, verdict, confession, or process of outlawry:—And surther, for the avoiding untrue accusations and presentments which might be maliciously conspired, and kept secret and unrevealed, till time might be espied to have men thereof by malice convicted, it was ordained, that none should be put to answer but upon accusation and presentments taken in open and manifest courts, by the oath of twelve men.

SCHISM.

- " As to the charge of Schism, and that we so far condemned the state " of the church, that we hold it not for any true, visible church of God, " as it is established by publick authority within the land, and therefore " refuse to have any part or communion with it in publick prayers, or in "the ministry of the word and sacraments: if this were true, we were of all men living the most unthankful, first to Almighty God, and "next to your excellent Majesty, by whose blessed means we are " partakers of that happy liberty of the profession of the gospel, and " of the true fervice of God, that by your highness's gracious govern-"ment we do enjoy. We acknowledge unfeignedly, as in the fight " of God, that this our church, as it is by your highness's laws and "authority established among us, having that faith professed and " taught publickly in it, that was agreed of in the convocation of " 1562, and fuch form of publick prayers and administration of the " facraments, as in the first year of your most gracious reign was " estalbished (notwithstanding any thing that may need to be revised "and further reformed) is a true visible church of Christ, from the "holy communion whereof, by way of schism, it is not lawful to " depart.

"Our whole life may shew the evident proof hereof; for always be"fore the time of our trouble, we have lived in the daily communion
"of it, not only as private men, but at the time of our restraint (as
"many years before) preached and exercised our ministry in the
"fame; and at this present, most earnestly beseech all in authority
that is set over us, especially your excellent Majesty, that we may
for proceed to serve God and your highness all the days of our life.

REBELLION.

"Another crime suggested against us is, that we should practise or uprocee rebelliously to procure such further reformation of our church * An. 25 H. VIII. cap. 14. † An. 55 H. VIII. cap. 15. §. 3d. "as

as we defire, by violent and undutiful means. Whereunto our " answer is, that as we think it not lawful to make a schism in the " church for any thing that we esteem needful to be reformed in "it, fo do we in all fimplicity and fincerity of heart [declare] in "the presence of Almighty God (to whom all secrets are known) "and of your excellent Majesty, (to whom the sword is given " of God for just vengeance and punishment of transgressors) that "for procuring reformation of any thing that we defire to be re-"dreffed in the state of our church, we judge it most unlawful and "damnable by the word of God to rebel, and by force of arms or "any violent means to feek redrefs thereof: and moreover, that we " never intended to use, or procure any other means for the further-" ance of fuch reformation, than only prayer to Almighty God, and " most humble suit to your excellent Majesty, and others in authority, " with fuch like dutiful and peaceable means as might give informa-"tion of this our fuit, and of the reasons moving us thereunto."

SUPREMACY.

"The third crime misinformed against us is, that we impeach your " Majefty's supremacy. For answer whereunto we unfeignedly protest, " (God being witness, that we speak the truth herein from our hearts) "that we acknowledge your highness's sovereignty and supreme " power, next and immediately under God, over all perfons, and in " all causes, as well ecclesiastical as civil, in as large and ample manner " as it is agnized by the high court of parliament in the flatute of re-" cognition, and is fet down in the oath-of supremacy enacted by the " fame; and as it is further declared in your Majesty's injunctions, " and also in the articles of religion agreed in the convocation, and " in fundry books of learned men of our nation, published and allowed "by publick authority. We add yet hereunto, that we acknowledge "the fame as fully as ever it was in old time acknowledged by the "prophets to belong to the virtuous kings of Judah; and as all the " reformed churches in Christendom acknowledge the fame to their " fovereign princes, in the confessions of their faith exhibited unto " them, as they are let down in a book named the Harmony of Con-" fessions, and the observations nanexed thereunto.

"And besides this protestation, we appeal to the former whole " course of our lives, wherein it cannot be shewed, that we ever made " question of it; and more particularly by our publick doctrine, " declaring the fame; and by our taking the oath of fupremacy as

" occasion hath required.

EXCOMMUNICATION.

" It hath been odioufly devised against us, concerning the persons sub-" jest to excommunication, and the power thereof, how far it extendeth; " touching the former—we judge not otherwise herein, than all the " reformed

"reformed churches that are this day in the christian world, nor than our own English church, both always heretofore hath judged, and doth still at this present, as may appear by the articles of religion agreed by the convocation, and by a book of homilies allowed by the same, and also by sundry other books of greatest credit and authority in our church; which is, that the word of God, the sacraments, and the power of binding and loosing, are all ordinances of Almighty God, graciously ordained for the comfort and salvation of the whole church; and that therefore no part or member of it is to be denied the comfortable, wholesome aid and benefit thereof, for the furtherance of their faith, and (as need may require) of their repentance, &c.

"For the other part, how far this censure extendeth, we profess that it depriveth a man only of spiritual comforts, as of being partaker of the Lord's table, and being present at the publick prayers of the church, or such like, without taking away either liberty, goods, lands, government private or publick whatsoever, or any other civil or earthly commodity of this life. Wherefore, from our hearts we detest and abbor that intolerable presumption of the bishop of Rome, taking upon him, in such cases, to depose sovereign princes from their highest seats of supreme government, and discharging their subjects from that dutiful obedience, that by the laws of God they ought to perform.

CONFERENCES.

"Concerning our conferences, we have been charged to have given "ORDERS, and made MINISTERS, and to have administered the censures of the church, and finally to have exercised all ecclesiastical jurisdiction. "To which suggestion we answer, that indeed of long time we have used, as other ministers have done, (as we think in most parts of the land) to meet sometimes and confer together; which being granted to all good and dutiful subjects upon occasion to resort and meet together, we esteem it is lawful for us to do so.

"For besides the common affairs of all men, which may give them just cause to meet with their acquaintance and friends, mutually to communicate for their comfort and help one with another; men professing learning have more necessary and special use of such conferences, for their furtherance in such knowledge as they prosess.—But such as are professed ministers of the word have sundry great and necessary causes so to do more than others, because of the manifold knowledge both of divinity, and also of divers tongues and sciences, that are of great use for the better enabling them for their ministry; in which respect the conferences of the ministers were allowed by many bishops within their diocess, and to our knowledge never disallowed or forbidden by any. Some late years also have given us more special cause of conferring together, where

" jefuits,

" jesuits, seminaries, and other hereticks, sought to seduce many; and wherein also some schissmaticks condemned the whole state of our church, as no part of the true visible church of Christ, and therefore refused to have any part or communion with it: upon which cocasion, it is needful for us to advise of the best way and means we could, to keep the people that we had charge to instruct, from such damnable errors.

"Further also particularly, because some reckoned us to have part with their schiss, and reported us to agree in nothing, but to differ one from another in the reformation we defire; we have special cause to confer together, that we might set down some things touching such matters, which at all times, whensoever we should be demanded, might be our true and just defence, both to clear us from partaking with the schiss, and to witness for us that we agreed in the reformation we defire.

"But as touching the thing furmified of our meetings, that we exercise in them all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, in making ministers, in censuring and excommunicating, in ordaining constitutions and orders upon such censures to bind any; we protest before God and the holy angels, that we never exercised any part of such juris-

"diction, nor had any purpose agreed among us to exercise the same,

"before we should by publick law be authorised thereunto.

"Further also, touching such our meetings, we affirm that they
were only of ministers (saving in some parts where a school-master,
two or three, desirous to train themselves to the ministry joined
with us) and the same, but of six or seven, or like small number
in a conference, without all deed of appearance that might be
offensive to any.

SINGULARITY.

"Which though it be not subject to any punishment of law, yet is suggested against us by such as favour not our most humble desire of a further reformation, to disgrace us, and make us odious with others, and chiefly with your excellent Majesty; whereunto our answer is, that the discipline of the primitive church is antient, and so acknowledged by the book of Common Prayer—in these words, that there was a godly discipline in the primitive church; instead whereof, until the said discipline may be restored again, (which thing is much to be wished) it is thought convenient to use such a form of commination as is prescribed.

"Further also, if it please your Majesty with favour to understand it from us, we are ready to shew, that in such points of ecclefiastical discipline of our church, which we desire most humbly may be reformed, we hold no singular or private opinion, but the truth of the word of God, acknowledged to be such by all the best churches and writers of ancient time and of this present age.

" I hus

"Thus have we declared, right gracious fovereign, truly and fin-" cerely, as we will answer it before God, and to your Majesty upon " our allegiance, what judgment we are of concerning the matters " informed against us; and further testify, that no minister within " this land defiring a further reformation, with whom we have had " any private acquaintanceor conference of these matters, (whosoever " may be otherwise informed) is of any other mind or opinion in " these cases that have been named; by which declaration, if (accord-" ing to our earnest prayers to Almighty God) your Majesty shall " clearly differn us to fland free from all fuch matters as we are " charged with, our most humble suit is, that your Majesty's gracious " favour (which is more dear and precious to us than our lives) may " be extended to us, and that by means thereof we may enjoy the " comfortable liberty of our perfons and ministry, as we did before " our troubles; which if by your highness's special mercy and good-" ness we may obtain, we promise and vow to Almighty God, and "your excellent Majesty, to behave ourselves in so peaceable and " dutiful fort in every respect, as may give no just cause of your " highness's offence, but according to our callings, both in doctrine " and example as heretofore, so always hereafter, to teach due obe-"dience to your Majesty among other parts of holy doctrine; and to ray for your Majesty's long and blessed reign over us," & .. *

No. III.

ARTICLES of RELIGION agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops, and the rest of the Clergy of Ireland, in the Convocation holden at Dublin, in the year of our Lord 1615, for the avoiding of diversities of opinions, and the establishing of consent touching true religion.

N. B. In these articles are comprehended almost word for word the nine articles agreed on at Lambeth the 20th of November 1595. This mark points at each of them, and their number.

Of the Holy Scriptures and the Three Creeds.

1. THE ground of our religion, and the rule of faith, and all faving truth, is the Word of God, contained in the holy scripture.

2. By the name of holy scripture we understand all the canonical

books of the Old and New Testament, viz.

OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

The Song of Solomon, The five books of The first and second of Chronicles, Ilarah, Moles, Ezra, Joshua, Feremiah, his prophecy Nehemiah. and lamentation, Judges, Ruth, Esther, Ezekiel. The first and second Fob, Daniel, Pfalms, The twelve less proof Samuel, Froverbs, The first and second phets. Ecclepastes, of Kings,

OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

Galatians. Philemon, Thegospelsaccording Hebrews, to Matthew. Ephefians, The epistle of St. Fames, Mark. Philippians, Luke, Coloshans, The two epiftles of St. Peter, Fohn, The first and second The Acts of the Apostles. epistle to the Thessa-The three epistles of St. John, St. Jude, The epiftle of St. Paul lonians. The first and second to the Romans. The Revelation of St. The first and second epiftle to Timothy, epiftle to the Corin-John, thrans,

All which we acknowledge to be given by the inspiration of God, and in that regard to be of most certain credit and highest authority.

3. The other books, commonly called Apocryphal, did not proceed from such inspiration, and therefore are not of sufficient authority to establish any point of doctrine; but the church doth read them as books containing many worthy things for example of life and instruction of manners.

SUCH ARE THESE FOLLOWING:

The third book of E/-The book of Wildom, Sulanna. Bell and the Dragon, dras, The book of Jesus the The fourth book of Ef-Jon of Sirach, called The prayer of Manaffes The first book of Mac-Ecclefiasticus, aras, The book of Tobias. Baruch, with the epifile cabees. of Jeremiah, The book of Judith, The second book of Additions to the book Maccabees. The fong of the three of Esther, children,

4. The scriptures ought to be translated out of the original tongues into all languages, for the common use of all men. Neither is any person

person to be discouraged from reading the bible in such a language as he doth understand, but seriously exhorted to read the same with great humility and reverence, as a special means to bring him to the

true knowledge of God, and of his own duty.

5. Although there be some hard things in the scripture (especially such as have proper relation to the times in which they were sirst uttered, and prophecies of things which were afterwards to be suffilled) yet all things necessary to be known unto everlasting salvation are clearly delivered therein; and nothing of that kind is spoken under dark mysteries in one place, which is not in other places spoken more familiarly and plainly to the capacity both of learned and unlearned.

6. The holy scriptures contain all things necessary to salvation, and are able to instruct sufficiently in all points of faith that we are bound to believe, and all good duties that we are bound to practise.

7. All and every the articles contained in the Nicene Creed, the Creed of Athanasius, and that which is commonly called the Apostles' Creed, ought firmly to be received and believed, for they may be proved by most certain warrant of holy scripture.

Of Faith in the Holy Trinity.

8. THERE is but one living and true God, everlasting, without body, parts, or passions, of infinite power, wisdom and goodness; the maker and preserver of all things, both visible and invisible. And in unity of this Godhead there be three persons of one and the same substance, power, and eternity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

9. The effence of the Father doth not beget the effence of the Son; but the person of the Father begetteth the person of the Son, by communicating his whole effence to the person begotten from eternity.

10. The Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son, is of one substance, majesty, and glory, with the Father and the Son,

very and eternal God.

Of God's eternal Decree and Predestination.

- ordain whatfoever in time should come to pass; yet so, as thereby no violence is offered to the wills of the reasonable creatures, and neither the liberty nor the contingency of the second causes is taken away, but established rather.
 - "forme unto life, and reprobated forme unto death; of both which there is a certain umber, known only to "God, which can neither be increased nor diminished."
- 13. Predestination to life is the everlasting purpose of God, whereby, before the foundations of the world were laid, he hath constantly decreed

creed in his fecret counsel, to deliver from curse and damnation those whom he hath chosen in Christ out of mankind, and to bring them by Christ unto everlasting salvation, as vessels made to honour.

II. 14. "The cause moving God to predestinate unto life, "is not the foreseeing of faith, or of perseverance, "or of good works, or of any thing which is in the person predestinated, but only the good plea-

"fure of God himfelf."

For all things being ordained for the manifestation of his glory, and his glory being to appear, both in the works of his mercy and of his justice, it seemed good to his heavenly wisdom to choose out a certain number, towards whom he would extend his undeserved

mercy, leaving the rest to be spectacles of his justice.

15. Such as are predestinated unto life be called according unto God's purpose, (his spirit working in due season) and through grace they obey the calling; they be justified freely; they be made sons of God by adoption; they be made like the image of his only begotten Son Jesus Christ; they walk religiously in good works, and at length by God's mercy they attain to everlasting felicity.

GT IV. " But fuch as are not predestinated to salvation shall

" finally be condemned for their fins."

16. The godly confideration of predestination, and our election in Christ, is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons, and such as feel in themselves the working of the spirit of Christ, mortifying the works of the sless, and their earthly members, and drawing up their minds to high and heavenly things, as well because it doth greatly confirm and establish their faith of eternal salvation to be enjoyed through Christ, as because it doth fervently kindle their love towards God; and on the contrary side, for curious and carnal persons, lacking the spirit of Christ, to have continually before their eyes the sentence of God's predestination is very dangerous.

17. We must receive God's promises in such wise as they be generally set forth unto us in holy scripture; and in our doings, that will of God is to be followed, which we have expressly declared unto

us in the word of God.

Of the Creation and Government of all Things.

18. IN the beginning of time, when no creature had any being, God by his word alone, in the space of six days, created all things; and afterwards by his providence doth continue, propagate, and order them according to his own will.

19. The principal creatures are angels and men.

20. Of angels, some continued in that holy state wherein they were created, and are by God's grace for ever established therein; others fell from the same, and are reserved in chains of darkness unto the judgment of the great day.

21. Man

21. Man being at the beginning created according to the image of God (which confifted especially in the wisdom of his mind, and the true holiness of his free-will) had the covenant of the law ingrafted in his heart, whereby God did promise unto him everlasting life, upon condition that he performed entire and perfect obedience unto his commandments, according to that measure of strength wherewith he was endued in his creation, and threatened death unto him if he did not perform the same.

Of the Fall of Man, original Sin, and the State of Man before Justification.

22. BY one man fin entered into the world, and death by fin, and fo death went over all men, for as much as all have finned.

33. Original fin standeth not in the imitation of Adam, (as the Pelagians dream) but is the fault and corruption of the nature of every person that naturally is ingendered and propagated from Adam, whereby it cometh to pass, that man is deprived of original righteousness, and by nature is bent unto sin; and therefore in every person born into the world it deserveth God's wrath and damnation.

24. This corruption of nature doth remain even in those that are regenerated, whereby the flesh always lusteth against the spirit, and cannot be made subject to the law of God. And howsoever, for Christ's sake, there be no condemnation to such as are regenerate and do believe; yet doth the apostle acknowledge, that in itself this

concupifcence hath the nature of fin.

(is IX. 25. "The condition of man, after the fall of Adam, is fuch, that he cannot turn and prepare himfelf, by his own natural strength and good works,

" to faith, and calling upon God."

Wherefore we have no power to do good works, pleasing and acceptable unto God, without the grace of God preventing us, that we may have a good will, and working with us, when we have that

good will.

26. Works done before the grace of Christ, and the inspiration of his spirit, are not pleasing unto God, forasmnch as they spring not of faith in Jesus Christ, neither do they make men meet to receive grace, or (as the school authors say, deserve grace of congruity;) year ather, for that they are not done in such sort that God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they are sinful.

27. All fins are not equal, but some far more heinous than others; yet the very least is of its own nature mortal, and without God's mercy maketh the offender liable unto everlasting damnation.

28. God is not the author of fin: howbeit he doth not only permit, but also by his providence govern and order the fame, guiding it in such fort by his infinite wisdom, as it turneth to the manifestation of his own glory, and to the good of his elect.

Of Christ, the Mediator of the second Covenant.

29. THE Son, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from the everlafting of the Father, the true and eternal God, of one substance with the Father, took man's nature in the womb of the blessed virgin, of her substance; so that two whole and perfect natures, that is to say, the godhead and manhood, were inseparably joined in one person, making one Christ, very God and very man.

30. Christ, in the truth of our nature, was made like unto us in all things, sin only excepted, from which he was clearly void, both in his life and in his nature. He came as a lamb without spot to take away the sins of the world, by the facrifice of himself once made, and sin (as St. John saith) was not in him. He fulfilled the law for us perfectly; for our sakes he endured most grievous torments immediately in his soul, and most painful sufferings in his body. He was crucified, and died to reconcile his Father unto us; and to be a facrifice not only for original guilt, but also for all our actual transgressions. He was buried and descended into hell, and the third day rose from the dead, and took again his body, with slesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of man's nature, wherewith he ascended into heaven, and there sitteth at the right hand of his Father, until he return to judge all men at the last day.

Of the communicating of the Grace of Christ.

31. THEY are to be condemned that prefume to fay, that every man shall be faved by the law or sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that law, and the light of nature; for holy scripture doth set out unto us only the name of Jesus Christ whereby men must be saved.

" WIII. " None can come unto Christ unless it be given unto him, and unless he draw him. And all men are not so drawn by the Father, that they III. "may come unto the Son; neither is there such a sufficient measure of grace vouchsafed unto every man, whereby he is enabled to come unto everlasting life."

33. All God's elect are in their time inseparably united unto Christ, by the effectual and vital influence of the Holy Ghost, derived from him, as from the head, unto every true member of his mystical body. And being thus made one with Christ, they are truly regenerated, and made partakers of him and all his benefits.

Of Justification and Faith.

our own works or merits. And this righteousness, which we so receive of God's mercy and Christ's merits, embraced by faith, is taken, accepted, and allowed of God, for our perfect and full justification.

- 35. Although this justification be free unto us, yet it cometh not fo freely unto us, that there is no ranfom paid therefore at all. God shewed his mercy in delivering us from our former captivity, without requiring any ranfom to be paid, or amends to be made on our parts, which thing by us had been impossible to be done. whereas all the world was not able of themselves to pay any part towards their ranfom, it pleased our heavenly Father, of his infinite mercy, without any defert of ours, to provide for us the most precious merits of his own Son, whereby our ranfom might be fully paid, the law fulfilled, and his justice fully satisfied; so that Christ is now the righteousness of all them that truly believe in him: he for them paid their ranfom by his death; he for them fulfilled the law in his life; that now in him, and by him, every true christian man may be called a fulfiller of the law; for as much as that which our infirmity was not able to effect, Christ's justice hath performed; and thus the justice and mercy of God do embrace each other, the grace of God not shutting out the justice of God in the matter of our justification, but only shutting out the justice of man (that is to fay, the justice of our own works) from being any cause of deserving our justification.
- 36. When we fay, that we are justified by faith only, we do not mean, that the faid juffifying faith is alone in man without true repentance, hope, charity, and the fear of God; (for fuch a faith is dead and cannot justify;) neither do we mean, that this our act to believe in Christ, or this our faith in Christ, which is within us, doth of itself justify us, or deserve our justification unto us, (for that were to account ourselves to be justified by the virtue or dignity of fomething that is within ourselves;) but the true understanding and meaning thereof is, that although we hear God's word, and believe it; although we have faith, hope, charity, repentance, and the fear of God within us, and add never fo many good works thereunto, yet we must renounce the merit of all our said virtues, of faith, hope, charity, and all our other virtues and good deeds, which we either have done, shall do, or can do, as things that be far too weak and imperfect, and infufficient, to deferve remission of our fins and our justification; and therefore we must trust only in God's mercy, and the merits of his most dearly beloved Son, our only redeemer, Saviour and justifier, Jesus Christ. Nevertheless, because faith doth directly fend us to Christ for our justification, and that by faith, given us of God, we embrace the promife of God's mercy, and the remission of our fins, (which thing none other of our virtues or works properly doth) therefore the scripture useth to say, that faith without works,

and the antient fathers of the church to the same purpose, that only faith, doth justify us.

- 37. By justifying faith we understand not only the common belief of the articles of the christian religion, and a persuasion of the truth of God's word in general, but also a particular application of the gracious promises of the gospel to the comfort of our own souls, whereby we lay hold on Christ with all his benefits, having an earnest trust and considence in God, that he will be merciful unto us for his only Son's sake.
 - VI. "So that a true believer may be certain, by the affurance "of faith, of the forgiveness of his fins, and of his "everlasting salvation by Christ."
 - 38. 15 V. "A true lively justifying faith, and the fanctifying "fpirit of God, is not extinguished, nor vanisheth "away in the regenerate, either finally or totally."

Of Sanclification and Good Works.

ALL that are justified are likewise fanctified, their faith being always accompanied with true repentance and good works.

- 40. Repentance is a gift of God, whereby a godly forrow is wrought in the heart of the faithful for offending God, their merciful Father, by their former transgressions, together with a constant resolution for the time to come to cleave unto God, and to lead a new life.
- 41. Albeit that good works, which are the fruits of faith, and follow after justification, cannot make fatisfaction for our fins, and endure the feverity of God's judgment; yet are they pleafing to God, and accepted of him in Christ, and do spring from a true and lively faith, which by them is to be discerned as a tree by the fruit.
- 42. The works which God would have his people to walk in, are such as he hath commanded in his holy scripture, and not such works as men have devised out of their own brain, of a blind zeal and devotion, without the warrant of the word of God.
- 43. The regenerate cannot fulfil the law of God perfectly in this life, for in many things we offend all; and if we fay we have no fin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.
- 44. Not every heinous fin willingly committed after baptism, is fin against the Holy Ghost and unpardonable; and therefore to such as fall into fin after baptism, place for repentance is not to be denied.
- 45. Voluntary works, befides over and above God's commandments, which they call works of supererogation, cannot be taught without arrogancy and impiety; for by them men do declare, that shey do not only render unto God as much as they are bound to do, but that they do more for his sake than of bounden duty is required.

Of

Of the Service of God.

- 46. OUR duty towards God is to believe in him, to fear him, and to love him with all our heart, with all our mind, and with all our foul, and with all our ftrength; to worship him, and to give him thanks, to put our whole trust in him, to call upon him, to honour his holy name and his word, and to serve him truly all the days of our life.
 - 47. In all our necessities we ought to have recourse unto God by prayer, assuring ourselves, that whatsoever we ask of the Father in the name of his Son (our only Mediator and Intercessor) Christ Jesus, and according to his will, he will undoubtedly grant it.
 - 48. We ought to prepare our hearts before we pray, and underfland the things that we alk when we pray, that both our hearts and voices may together found in the ears of God's majesty.
 - 49. When Almighty God finiteth us with affliction, or fome great calamity hangeth over us, or any other weighty cause so requireth, it is our duty to humble ourselves in fasting, to bewail our fins with a forrowful heart, and to addict ourselves to earnest prayer, that it might please God to turn his wrath from us, or supply us with such graces as we greatly stand in need of.
 - 50. Fasting is a withholding of meat, drink, and all natural food, with other outward delights, from the body, for the determined time of fasting. "As for those abstinences which are appointed by publick order of our state, for eating of fish, and forbearing of flesh at certain times and days appointed, they are no ways meant to be religious fasts, nor intended for the maintenance of any superstition in the choice of meats, but are grounded merely upon politick confiderations, for provision of things tending to the better preservation of the commonwealth."
- 51. We must not fast with this persuasion of mind, that our fasting can bring us to heaven, or ascribe outward holiness to the work wrought; for God alloweth not our fast for the work's sake (which of itself is a thing merely indifferent) but chiefly respecteth the heart, how it is affected therein; it is therefore requisite, that first before all things we cleanse our hearts from sin, and then direct our fast to such ends as God will allow to be good; that the slesh may thereby be chastised, the spirit may be more fervent in prayer, and that our fasting may be a testimony of our humble submission to God's majesty, when we acknowledge our sins unto him, and are inwardly touched with forrowfulness of heart, bewailing the same in the affliction of our bodies.
 - 52. All worship devised by man's fantasy, besides or contrary to the scriptures (as wandering on pilgrimages, setting up of candles, stations, and jubiles, pharisaical sects, and seigned religions, praying upon

upon beads, and fuch-like fuperstition) hath not only no promise of reward in scripture, but contrariwise threatenings and maledictions.

- 53. All manner of expressing God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, in an outward form, is utterly unlawful; as also all other images devised or made by man to the use of religion.
- 54. All religious worship ought to be given to God alone, from whom all goodness, health, and grace, ought to be both asked and looked for, as from the very Author and Giver of the same, and from none other:
- 55. The name of God is to be used with all reverence and holy respect, and therefore all vain and rash swearing is utterly to be condemned; yet notwithstanding, upon lawful occasions, an oath may be given and taken, according to the word of God, justice, judgment, and truth.
- 56. The first day of the week, which is the Lord's day, is wholly to be dedicated to the service of God, and therefore we are bound therein to rest from our common and daily business, and to bestow that leisure upon holy exercises, both publick and private.

Of the Civil Magistrate.

- 57. THE king's majesty under God hath the sovereign and chief power, within his realms and dominions, over all manner of perfons, of what estate, either ecclesiastical or civil, soever they be, so as no other foreign power hath or ought to have any superiority over them.
- 58. We do profess, that the supreme government of all estates within the said realms and dominions, in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as temporal, doth of right appertain to the king's highness. Neither do we give unto him hereby the administration of the word and sacraments, or the power of the keys, but that prerogative only which we see to have been always given unto all godly princes in holy scripture by God himself; that is, that he should contain all estates and degrees committed to his charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or civil, within their duty, and restrain the stubborn and evil-doers with the power of the civil sword.
- 59. The pope neither of himfelf, nor by any authority of the church or fee of Rome, or by any other means with any other, hath any power or authority to depose the king, or dispose of any of his kingdoms or dominions, or to authorize any other prince to invade or annoy him, or his countries, or to discharge any of his subjects of their allegiance and obedience to his majesty, or to give licence or leave to any of them to bear arms, raise tumult, or to offer any violence or hurt to his royal person, state, or government, or to any of his subjects within his majesty's dominions.

60. That

- 60. That princes which be excommunicated or deprived by the pope may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever, is impious doctrine.
- 61. The laws of the realm may punish christian men with death for heinous and grievous offences.
- 62. It is lawful for christian men, at the commandment of the magistrate, to bear arms, and to serve in just wars.

Of our Duty towards our Neighbours.

- 63. OUR duty towards our neighbours, is to love them as our-felves, and to do to all men as we would they should do to us; to honour and obey our superiors, to preserve the safety of men's persons, as also their chastity, goods, and good names; to bear no malice nor hatred in our hearts; to keep our bodies in temperance, soberness and chastity; to be true and just in all our doings; not to covet other men's goods, but labour truly to get our own living, and to do our duty in that estate of life unto which it pleaseth God to call us.
- 64. For the prefervation of the chastity of men's persons, wedlock is commanded unto all men that stand in need thereof. Neither is there any prohibition by the word of God but that the ministers of the church may enter into the state of matrimony, they being no where commanded by God's law, either to vow the state of single life, or to abstain from marriage; therefore it is lawful also for them, as well as for all other christian men, to marry at their own discretion, as they shall judge the same to serve better to godliness.
- 65. The riches and goods of christians are not common, as touching the right, title, and possession of the same, as certain anabaptists falsely affirm; notwithstanding every man ought of such things as he possession, liberally to give alms to the poor, according to his ability.
 - 66. Faith given is to be kept, even with hereticks and infidels.
- 67. The popish doctrine of equivocation and mental refervation is most ungodly, and tendeth plainly to the subversion of all human society.

Of the Church and outward Ministry of the Gospel.

68. THERE is but one catholick church, (out of which there is no falvation) containing the univerfal company of all the faints that ever were, are, or shall be, gathered together in one body, under one head, Christ Jesus; part whereof is already in heaven triumphant, part as yet militant here upon earth. And because this church consisteth of all those, and those alone, which are elected by God unto salvation, and regenerated by the power of his spirit, the number of whom is known only unto God himself, therefore it is called the catholick or universal, and the invisible church.

69. But

- 69. But particular and visible churches (consisting of those who make profession of the faith of Christ, and live under the outward means of salvation) be many in number; wherein, the more or less sincerely, according to Christ's institution, the word of God is taught, the sacraments are administered, and the authority of the keys used is, the more or less pure are such churches to be accounted.
- 70. Although in the visible church the evil be ever mingled with the good; and sometimes the evil have chief authority in the ministration of the word and sacraments, yet for as much as they do not the same in their own name, but in Christ's, and minister by his commission and authority, we may use their ministry both in hearing the word, and in receiving the sacraments. Neither is the effect of Christ's ordinance taken away by their wickedness, nor the grace of God's gifts diminished from such as by faith do rightly receive the sacraments ministered unto them, which are effectual, because of Christ's institution and promise, although they be ministered by evil men. Nevertheless, it appertaineth to the discipline of the church, that inquiry be made of evil ministers, and that they be accused by those that have knowledge of their offences, and finally, being found guilty by just judgment, be deposed.
- 71. It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of publick preaching, or ministring the facraments of the church, unless he be first lawfully called, and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent, which be chosen and called to this work by men who have publick authority given them in the church to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard.
- 72. To have publick prayer in the church, or to administer the facraments in a tongue not understood of the people, is a thing plainly repugnant to the word of God and the custom of the primitive church.
- 73. That person which by publick denunciation of the church, is rightly cut off from the unity of the church, and excommunicate, ought to be taken of the whole multitude of the faithful as a heathen and publican, until by repentance he be openly reconciled and received into the church, by the judgment of such as have authority in that behalf.
- 74. God hath given power to his ministers not simply to forgive sins, (which prerogative he hath reserved only to himself) but in his name to declare and pronounce unto such as truly repent, and unfeignedly believe his holy gospel, the absolution and forgiveness of sins. Neither is it God's pleasure, that his people should be tied to make a particular confession of all their known sins unto any mortal man; howsoever, any person, grieved in his conscience upon any special cause, may well resort unto any godly and learned minister, to receive advice and comfort at his hands,

Of the Authority of the Church, general Councils, and Bishop of Rome.

- 75. IT is not lawful for the church to ordain any thing that is contrary to God's word; neither may it so expound one place of scripture, that it be repugnant to another. Wherefore, although the church be a witness, and a keeper of holy writ, yet as it ought not to decree any thing against the same, so besides the same ought it not to enforce any thing to be believed upon necessity of salvation.
- 76. General councils may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of princes; and when they be gathered together (forafmuch as they be an affembly of men not always governed with the spirit and word of God) they may err, and sometimes have erred, even in things pertaining to the rule of piety; wherefore things ordained by them as necessary to salvation, have neither strength nor authority, unless it may be shewed that they be taken out of the holy scriptures.
- 77. Every particular church hath authority to institute, to change, and clean to put away ceremonies and other ecclesiastical rites, as they be superfluous, or be abused, and to constitute other, making more to seemliness, to order, or edification.
 - 78. As the churches of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch, have erred, so also the church of Rome hath erred, not only in those things which concern matters of practice and point of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith.
 - 79. The power which the bishop of Rome now challengeth, to be the supreme head of the universal church of Christ, and to be above all emperors, kings, and princes, is an usurped power, contrary to the scriptures and word of God, and contrary to the example of the primitive church, and therefore is for most just causes taken away and abolished, within the king's majesty's realms and dominions.
- 80. The bishop of Rome is so far from being the supreme head of the universal church of Christ, that his works and doctrine do plainly discover him to be that man of sin foretold in the holy scriptures, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and abolish with the brightness of his coming.

Of the State of the Old and New Testament.

- 81. IN the Old Testament the commandments of the law were more largely, and the promises of Christ more sparingly and darkly propounded; shadowed with a multitude of types and figures, and so much more generally and obscurely delivered, as the manifesting of them was farther off.
- 82. The Old Testament is not contrary to the New; for both in the Old and New Testament everlasting life is offered to mankind by Christ,

Of

Christ, who is the only mediator between God and man, being both God and man; wherefore they are not to be heard, which seign that the old fathers did look only for transitory promises, for they looked for all the benefits of God the Father, through the merits of his Son Jesus Christ, as we now do; only they believed in Christ which should come, we in Christ already come.

- 83. The New Testament is full of grace and truth, bringing joyful tidings unto mankind, that whatsoever formerly was promised of
 Christ is now accomplished; and so instead of the ancient types and
 ceremonies exhibiteth the things themselves, with a large and clear
 declaration of all the benefits of the gospel. Neither is the ministry
 thereof restrained any longer to one circumcised nation, but is indifferently propounded unto all people, whether they be Jews or Gentiles; so that there is now no nation, which can truly complain that
 they be shut forth from the communion of faints, and the liberties of
 the people of God.
- 84. Although the law given from God by Moses, as touching ceremonies and rites, be abolished, and the civil precepts thereof be not of necessity to be received in any commonwealth; yet notwithstanding, no christian man whatsoever is freed from the obedience of the commandments, which are called moral.

Of the Sacraments of the New Testament.

- 85. THE facraments ordained by Christ are not only badges or tokens of christian men's profession, but rather certain sure witnesses, and effectual or powerful signs of grace and God's good-will towards us, by which he doth work invisibly in us, and not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our faith in him.
- 86. There be two facraments ordained of Christ our Lord in the gospel, that is to say, baptism and the Lord's supper.
- 87. Those five which by the church of Rome are called facraments, to wit, confirmation, penance, orders, matrimony, and extreme unction, are not to be accounted facraments of the gospel, being such as have partly grown from corrupt imitation of the apostles, partly are states of life allowed in the scriptures, but yet have not like nature of sacraments with baptism and the Lord's supper, for that they have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God, together with a promise of saving grace annexed thereunto.
- 88. The facraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed upon, or to be carried about, but that we should duly use them. And in such only as worthily receive the same, they have a wholsome effect and operation; but they that receive them unworthily thereby draw judgment upon themselves.

Of Baptism.

- 89. BAPTISM is not only an outward fign of our profession, and a note of difference, whereby christians are discerned from such as are no christians; but much more a facrament of our admission into the church, sealing unto us our new birth (and consequently our justification, adoption, and fanctification) by the communion which we have with Jesus Christ.
- 90. The baptism of infants is to be retained in the church as agreeable to the word of God.
- 91. In the administration of baptisin, exorcism, oil, salt, spittle, and superstitious hallowing of the water, are for just causes abolished; and without them the sacrament is fully and perfectly administered to all intents and purposes, agreeable to the institution of our Saviour Christ.

. Of the Lord's Supper.

- 92. THE Lord's supper is not only a sign of the mutual love which christians ought to bear one towards another, but much more a facrament of our preservation in the church, sealing unto us our spiritual nourishment, and continual growth in Christ.
- 93. The change of the substance of bread and wine into the substance of the body and blood of Christ, commonly called transubstantiation, cannot be proved by holy writ, but is repugnant to plain testimonies of the scripture, overthroweth the nature of a sacrament, and hath given occasion to most gross idolatry and manifold superstitions.
- 94. In the outward part of the holy communion, the body and blood of Christ is in a most lively manner represented, being no otherwise present with the visible elements than things signified and sealed are present with the signs and seals; that is to say, symbolically and relatively. But in the inward and spiritual part, the same body and blood is really and substantially presented unto all those who have grace to receive the Son of God, even to all those that believe in his name. And unto such as in this manner do worthily and with faith repair unto the Lord's table, the body and blood of Christ is not only signified and offered, but also truly exhibited and communicated.
- 95. The body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Lord's supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner; and the mean whereby the body of Christ is thus received and eaten, is faith.
- o6. The wicked, and such as want a lively faith, although they do carnally and visibly (as St. Augustine speaketh) press with their teeth the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, yet in no wise are they made partakers of Christ, but rather to their condemnation do eat and drink the sign or sacrament of so great a thing.

79. Both

- 97. Both the parts of the Lord's facrament, according to Christ's institution, and the practice of the ancient church, ought to be ministered unto all God's people; and it is plain facrilege to rob them of the mystical cup, for whom Christ hath shed his most precious blood.
- 98. The facrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped.
- 99. The facrifice of the mass, wherein the priest is said to offer up Christ for obtaining the remission of pain or guilt for the quick and the dead, is neither agreeable to Christ's ordinance, nor grounded upon doctrine apostolick: but contrariwise most ungodly, and most injurious to that all-sufficient facrifice of our Saviour Christ, offered once for ever upon the cross, which is the only propitiation and satisfaction for all our sins.
- 100. Private mass, that is, the receiving the eucharist by the priest alone, without a competent number of communicants, is contrary to the institution of Christ.
- Of the State of the Souls of Men, after they be departed out of this Life, together with the general Refurrection and the last Judgment.
- 101. AFTER this life is ended, the fouls of God's children are presently received into heaven, there to enjoy unspeakable comforts; the souls of the wicked are cast into hell, there to endure endless torments.
- 102. The doctrine of the church of Rome concerning limbus patrum, limbus puerorum, purgatory, prayer for the dead, pardons, adoration of images and relicks, and also invocation of faints, is vainly invented, without all warrant of holy scripture, yea, and is contrary to the same.
- 103. At the end of this world the Lord Jesus shall come in the clouds with the glory of his Father; at which time, by the almighty power of God, the living shall be changed, and the dead shall be raised, and all shall appear both in body and soul before his judgment seat, to receive according to that which they have done in their bodies, whether good or evil.
- 104. When the last judgment is finished, Christ shall deliver up the kingdom to his Father, and God shall be all in all.

The DECREE of the SYNOD.

IF any minister, of what degree or quality soever he be, shall publickly teach any doctrine contrary to these articles agreed upon; if after due admonition he do not conform himself, and cease to disturb the peace of the church, let him be silenced, and deprived of all spiritual promotions he doth enjoy.

ARTICLES

No. VII.

ARTICLES

THE ARTICLES

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CHURCH OF ENGLAND, CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

Revised and altered by the Affembly of Divines at Westminster, in the year 1643, with Scripture references.

ARTICLE I.

Of Faith in the Holy Trinity.

THERE is but onea living and true God, b everlafting, c without body, parts,d or passions,° of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness;h the maker and preferver of all things both visible and invifible.i And in unity of this godhead, there be three perfons, of one substance, power, and eternity; the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.k

ARTICLE II.

Of the Word, or Son of God, which was made very Man.

THE Son, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father,1 the very" and eternal God," of one

ARTICLE I.

Of Faith in the Holy Trinity.

THERE is but one living and true God, everlasting, without body, parts, or passions; of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness, the maker, and preferver of all things both visible and invisible. And in unity of this godhead, there be three perfons, of one fubstance, power, and eternity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoft.

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Of the Word, or Son of God, which was made very Man.

The Son, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father, the very and eternal God, of one

Prov. 8. 22-31. John 1. 12, 14. m 1 John 5. 20, Rom. 9. 5. n John 17. 5. Heb. 1. 8, with Pfal. 45. 6.

^a Isa. 46. 9. 1 Cor. 8. 4, 6. ^b Jer. 10. 10. 1 Thes. 1. 9. ^c Psal. 90. 2. Rom. 16. 26. ^d Deut. 4. 15, 16. John 4. 24, with Luke 24. 39. ^c Acts 14, 15. James 1. 17. ^f Jer. 32. 17, 27. Mark 10. 27. ^g Psal. 147. 5. Rom. 11. 33. ^h Psal. 119. 68, with Matt. 19. 17. ^l Neh. 9. 6. Col. 1. 16, 17. ^k Matt. 3. 16, 17. Matt. 28. 19. I John 4. 7. 2 Cor. 13. 14.

substance with the Father, took man's nature in the womb of the bleffed virgin, of her fubstance; P fo that two whole and perfect natures, that is to fay, the godhead and the manhood, were joined together in one person, never to be divided, whereof is one Christ, very God and very man, who for our fakes truly fuffered most grievous torments in his foul from God, was crucified, dead, and buried, to reconcile his Father to us,t and to bea facrifice, not only for original guilt, but also for actual fins of men."

ARTICLE III.

As Christ died for us, and was buried, so it is to be believed that he continued in the state of the dead, and under the power and dominion of death, from the time of his death and burial until his resurrection; which hath been otherwise expressed thus:

ARTICLE IV.

Of the Refurrection of Christ.

Christ did truly rise again from death, and took again his body, with slesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of man's nature, wherewith he ascended into heaven, and there

Articles of the Church of England. fubstance with the Father, took man's nature in the womb of the blessed virgin, of her substance; so that two whole and perfect natures, that is to say, the godhead and manhood, were joined together in one person, never to be divided, whereof is one Christ, very God and very man, who truly suffered, was crucified, dead, and buried, to reconcile his Father to us, and to be a facrisce not only for original guilt, but also for all actual sins of men.

ARTICLE III.

Of the going down of Christ into Hell.

As Christ died for us, and was buried: so also is it to be believed that he went down into Hell.

ARTICLE IV.

Of the Resurrection of Christ.

Christ did truly rise again from death, and took again his body, with sless, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of man's nature, wherewith he ascended into heaven, and there

John 10. 30. Heb. 1. 3. P John 1. 14. Ifa. 7. 14. Luke 1. 35. Gal. 4. 4. 9 Ifa. 7. 14, with Matt. 1. 23. Rom. 1. 3, 4. Heb. 13. 8. Ifa. 53. 10, 11. Mark 14. 33, 34. 1 Pet. 2. 24. Phil. 2. 1. 1 Cor. 15. 3, 4. Ezek. 16. 63. Rom. 3. 25. 2 Cor. 5. 12. Ifa. 53. 10. Eph. 5. 2. 1 John 1. 7. Heb. 9. 26.

W Pfal. 16. 10, with Acts 2. 24, 25, 26, 27, 31. * Rom. 6. 9. Matt. 12-40.

F 1 Cor. 15. 4. Rom. 8. 34. Pfal. 16. 10, with Acts 2. 31. Luke 24. 34. * Luke 24. 39, with John 20. 25, 27. * Pfal. 68. 18, with Eph. 4. 3. Pfal. 110. 1. with Acts 2. 34, 35. Mark 19. 10. Rom. 8. 34.

fitteth, until he return to judgeb all men c at the general refurrection of the body at the last day.d

ARTICLE V.

Of the Holy Ghoft.

The Holy Ghost is very and eternal God, of one substance, majesty, and glory, with the Father and the Son, proceeding from the Father and the Son.

ARTICLE VI.

Of the Sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for Salvation.

Holy Scripture i containeth all things necessary to falvation, fo that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be believed as an article of faith, or necessary to falvation.

By the name of holy scripture we understand all the canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, which follow:

Of the Old Testament. Genesis, Exodus, &c.

Of the New Testament. The Gospel of St. Matthew, &c.

All which books, as they are commonly received, we do re-

Articles of the Church of England. fitteth, until he return to judge all men at the last day.

ARTICLE V.

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The Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son, is of one substance, majesty, and glory, with the Father and the Son, very and eternal God.

ARTICLE VI.

Of the Sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for Salvation.

Holy scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation. In the name of the holy scripture, we do understand those canonical books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority was never any doubt in the church.

Of the Names and Number of the Canonical Books.

Genesis, Leviticus, Exodus, Numbers, &c.

And the other books, (as Hierome faith) the church doth read

Acts 3. 21. Pfal. 110. 1, with 1 Core 15. 25, 26. Acts 1. 11. 2 Cor. 5. 20. Acts 17. 31. Exod 3. 6, with Luke 20. 37, 38. Acts 24. 14, 15. 1 Cor. 15. 12, to the end: John 5. 28, 29.

^e 2 Sam. 23. 2, with verse 3. Isa. 6. 5, 8, with Acts 28. 25. Acts 5. 3, 4. I Cor. 3. 16, and 6. 19. f Job 26. 13. 33. 4. I Cor. 12th chap. Matt. 23. 19. 2 Cor. 13, 14. F 1 Cor. 12. 11. Eph. 1. 17, and 1 Cor. 2. 8, with 1 Pet. 4. 14. h John 15. 26, and Matt. 10. 20, and 1 Cor. 2. 11, 12, with Gal. 4. 6, and Rom. 8. 9, and Phil. 1. 9. John 16. 14. Isa. 11. 2. Isa. 61. 1. Gen. 1. 2. 2 Chron. 15. 1.

i Rom. 1. 2. 2 Tim. 3. 15. 2 Pet. 1. 20, 21. k Pfal. 19. 7. 2 Tim. 3. 15, 16,

^{17.} James 1. 21, 25. Acts 20. 32.

i Prov. 30. 5, 6. Ifa. 8. 20. Act 26. 22, with ver. 20, 27. Gal. 1. 8, 9. John 5. 39.

ceive, and acknowledge them to be given by the inspiration of God; and in that regard, to be of most certain credit, and highest authority.

ARTICLE VII.

Of the Old Testament.

The Old Testament is not contrary to the New, in the doctrine contained in them; for both in the Old and New Testament, everlasting life is offered to mankind by Christ, who is the only mediator between God and man, being both God and man. Wherefore they are not to be heard, which feign, that the old sathers did look only for temporary promises.

Although the law given from God by Moses, as touching ceremonies and rites, do not bind christians; nor the civil precepts given by Moses, such as were peculiarly fitted to the commonwealth of the Jews, are of necessity to be received in any commonwealth; yet notwithstanding, no christian man whatsoever is free from the obedience of the com-

Articles of the Church of England. for example of life and inftruction of manners; but yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine: such are these following,

Third of Eldras, Book of Tobias, Fourth of Eldras, Judith, &c.

All the books of the New Testament, as they are commonly received, we do receive, and account them for canonical.

ARTICLE VII.

Of the Old Testament.

The Old Testament is not contrary to the New; for both in the Old and New Testament, everlasting life is offered to mankind by Christ, who is the only mediator between God and man, being both God and man. Wherefore they are not to be heard which fain that the old fathers did look only for transitory promises. Although the law given from GOD by Moses, as touching ceremonies and rites, do not bind christian men, nor the civil precepts thereof ought of necessity to be received in any commonwealth; yet notwithstanding, no christian man whatsoever is free from the obedience of the commandments which are called moral.

m Acts 26. 21, 23. 2 Pet. 3. 2. Luke 24. 44. Rom. 3. 31. Gal. 3. 21, 23, 24. BGn. 3. 15. Gen. 22. 18, with Gal. 3. 8, 14. 1 Cor. 10. 2, 3, 4. Luke 1. 69, 70. Acts 3. 24. Ifa. 53. chap. Dan. 9. 17. Rom. 8. 34. 1 John 2. 1. Heb. 7. 25. 1 Tim. 2. 5. John 14. 6. P Gal. 4. 4, 5. Acts 20. 28. Phil. 2. 7, 8. 9 Acts 26. 6, 7. Rom. 4. 11. Gal. 3. 9. Heb. 11. 10, 16, 35. Gal. 4. 9, 10. Col., 2. 14, 10, 17. Heb. 9. 9, 10. Acts 25. 9, 10, 25, with Deut. 17. 8—13. Rom. 13. 1, 5. Tit. 3. 1. 1 Pet. 2. 13, 14.

mandments which are called moral. By the moral law, we understand all the ten commandments taken in their full extent. Articles of the Church of England.

ARTICLE VIII.

Of the Three Creeds.

The three creeds, Nice creed, Athanasius creed, and that which is commonly called the apostle's creed, ought thoroughly to be received and believed: for they may be proved by most certain warrants of holy writ.

ARTICLE IX.

Of Original or Birth of Sin.

Original fin standeth not in the following of Adam, (as the pelagians do vainly talk) but it is the fault and corruption of the nature of every man, that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam, whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined to evil, fo that the flesh lusteth always contrary to the spirit, and therefore in every person born into this world, it deferveth God's wrath and damna-. tion. And this infection of nature doth remain, yea in them that are regenerated, whereby the lust of the flesh, called in greek. Ogovnuz ougues, which some do expound the wisdom, some sensuality, some the affection, some the desire of the flesh, is not subject to the law

ARTICLE IX.

Of Original or Birth Sin.

Original fin a standeth not in the following of Adam, as the pelagians do vainly talk: w but together with his first fin imputed, it is the fault and corruption of the nature of every man, that naturally is propagated from Adam; whereby man is wholly deprived of original righteousness,y and is of his own nature inclined only to evil.2 So that the lust of the flesh, called in Greek Ogwunua ozenos, which fome do expound the wisdom, some sensuality, fome the affection, some the defire of the fielh, is not subject to the law of God, and therefore in every person born into this world it deferveth God's wrath and damnation.5 And this infection of nature doth remain, yea in

^{*} Matt. 5. 17, to the end. Rom. 13. 8, 9, 10. Eph. 6. 1, 2, 3. James 2. 8, 9, 10,

^{11, 12.} Rom. 7. 25. Rom. 3. 31. Mat. 7. 12.

"Pfal. 51. 5. John 3. 5, 6. " Job 14. 4. Job 15. 14. Rom. 6. 6. Joh. 3. 3, 5, 7. "Rom. 5. 12—19. Gen. 2. 17, with 1 Cor. 15. 22. " Col. 2. 13. Rom. 7. 18. Eccl. 7. 29. " Gen. 6. 5. Gen. 8. 21. Jer. 17. 9. Rom. 7. 8. James 1. 14. " Rom. 8. 7. 1 Cor. 2. 14. Col. 1. 21. " Eph. 2. 3. Rom. 8. 6, 7.

them that are regenerate, whereby the flesh lusteth always contrary to the spirit. And although there is no condemnation for them that are regenerate, and do believe, yet the apostle doth confess, that concupiscence and lust is truly and properly sin.

ARTICLE X.

Of Free Will.

The condition of man after the fall of Adam is fuch, that he cannot turn or prepare himfelf, by his own natural strength and good works, to faith and calling upon God; wherefore we have no power to do good works pleafing and acceptable to God,h without the grace of God by Christ, both preventing us, that we may have a good will, and working fo effectually in us, as that it determineth our will to that which is good, and also working with us when we have that will unto good.k

ARTICLE XI.

Of the Justification of Man before God.

We are justified, that is, we are accounted righteous before God, and have remission of sins, not for, nor by our own works or deservings, but freely by his

Articles of the Church of England. of GOD. And although there is no condemnation for them that believe and are baptized, yet the apostle doth confess, that concupiscence and lust hath of itself the nature of sin.

Of Free Will.

The condition of man after the fall of Adam is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself by his own natural strength and good works, to faith and calling upon God. Wherefore we have no power to good works pleasant and acceptable to God, without the grace of God by Christ preventing us, that we may have a good-will, and working with us, when we have that good-will.

ARTICLE XI.

Of the Justification of Man.

We are accounted righteous before GOD, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by faith, and not for our own works or deservings. Where-

Prov. 20. 9. Rom. 7. 17, 20, 23, 25. d Gal. 5. 17. Rom. 8. 1, 13. John 3. 13. Rom. 8. 17, 20.

Eph. 2. 1, 5. 1 Cor. 2. 14. Eph. 2. 8, 9, 10. John 6. 44, 65. h Rom. S. 8. Heb. 11. 6. i Ezek. 11. 19, 20. Ezek. 36. 26, 27. Jer. 31. 32, 33, with Heb. 10. 11. Phil. 2. 12, 13. John 6. 45. Eph. 1. 19, 20. 1 Cor. 4, 7. h Heb. 13. 21. Phil. 8. 1, 6. Heb. 12. 22. 1 Pet. 5. 10. 1 Theff. 5. 23, 24. 1 Kings 8. 57, 58.

Rom. 4, 5, 6, 7. Pfal. 32. 1, 2. m Rom. 3. 20. Gal. 2. 16. Gal. 3. 10, 11. Phil. 3. 9.

grace," only for our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ's sake, his whole obedience and fatisfaction being by God imputed unto us,p and Christ with his righteousness, being apprehended and refted on by faith only.9 The doctrine of justification by faith only, is a wholfome doctrine, and very full of comfort," notwithstanding God doth not forgive them that are impenitent, and go on still in their trefpasses.3

ARTICLE XII.

Of Good Works.

Good works, which are the fruits of faith,t and follow after justification, a cannot put away our fins," and endure the feverity of God's judgment; yet are they, notwithstanding their imperfections, in the fight of God pleafing and acceptable unto him in and for Christ, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively faith, infomuch that by them a lively faith may be evidently known, as a tree difcerned by the fruits.a

ARTICLE XIII.

Of Works before Justification.

Works done before justification by Christ, and regeneration by his fpirit, are not pleasing unto

Articles of the Church of England fore, that we are justified by faith only, is a most wholsome doctrine, and very full of comfort, as more largely expressed in the homily of justification.

ARTICLE XII.

Of Good Works.

Albeit that good works, which are the fruits of faith, and follow after justification, cannot put away our fins, and endure the feverity of God's judgment, yet are they pleasing and acceptable to God in Christ, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively faith, infomuch that by them a lively faith may be as evidently known as a tree discerned by the fruit.

ARTICLE XIII.

Of Works before Justification.

Works done before the grace of Christ, and the inspiration of his fpirit, are not pleasant to GOD,

Rom. 3. 24. Tit. 3. 7. Rom. 3. 24, 25. Rom. 5. 1. 2 Cor. 5. 18, 19. P Rom. 5. 9, 17, 18, 19. Rom. 3. 25, 26. Rom. 4. 6, 24. 2 Cor. 5. 21. 9 Rom. 3. 22, 25, 26, 28. Gal. 2. 16. Ifa. 28. 16, with Rom. 9. 33, and 1 Pet. 2. 6. Phil. 3. 9. 1 2 Tim. 1. 13. Rom. 5. 1, 2, 8, 11. Rom. 15. 13. 1 Pet. 1. 8. 9 Pfal. 68. 20, 21. Exod. 34. 6, 7. Luke 13. 3, 5.

^{*} Gal. 5. 6. James 2. 17, 18,22. "Tit. 2. 14. Tit. 3. 7, 8. Eph. 2. 8, 9, 18. W Rom. 3. 20, 21. Rom. 4. 4-9. Dan. 9. 18, 19. * Neh. 13. 22. Pfal. 143. 2. job 9. 14, 15, 19, 20. Exod. 28. 38. Rev. 8. 3, 4.
71 Pet. 2. 5. Heb. 13. 16, 20, 21. Col. 1. 10. Phil. 4. 18. 2 James 2. 16. 1 John

^{1. 4. *} James 2. 18, 19. John 15. 4, 5. 1 John 2. 3, 5. Matt. 12. 33.

God, for as much as they fpring not of faith in Jesus Christ: neither do they make men meet to receive grace, or (as the school authors fay) deferve grace of congruity; yea, rather, for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, they are finful.d

ARTICLE XIV.

Of Works of Supererogation.

Voluntary works, befides over and above God's commandments, which they call works of supererogation, cannot be taught without arrogancy and impiety;g for by them men do declare, that they do not only render unto God as much as they are bound to do; but that they do more for his fake than of bounden duty is required; whereas Christ saith plainly, When ye have done all those things that are commanded you, fay, We are unprofitable fervants, we have done that which was our duty to do.h

ARTICLE XIV.

Of Christ alone without Sin.

Christ in the truth of our nature was made like unto us in all things, fin only excepted, from which he was clearly void both in his flesh and in his spirit: he came to be the lamb without fpot,1 who by facrifice of himfelf m once

Articles of the Church of England. for as much as they fpring not of faith in Jesus Christ, neither do they make men meet to receive grace, or (as the school authors fay) deserve grace of congruity; yearather, for that they are not done as GOD hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they have the nature of fin.

ARTICLE XIV.

Of Works of Supererogation.

Voluntary works, besides over and above God's commandments, which they call works of supererogation, cannot be taught without arrogancy and impiety. For by them men do declare, that they do not only render unto God, as much as they are bound to do, but that they do more for his fake than of bounden duty is required; whereas Christ saith plainly, When ye have done all that are commanded to you, say, We are unprofitable servants.

ARTICLE XV.

Of Christ alone without Sin.

Christin the truth of our nature was made like unto us in all things (fin only except) from which he was clearly void, both in his flesh and in his spirit. He came to be a Lamb without fpot, who by facrifice of himfelf once made, should

b Tit. 1. 15, #6. Matt. 7. 18. Rom. S. S. Prov. 15. 8, 26. Prov. 21. 27. Rom. 3. 12. C Heb. 11. 5, 6. Gal. 5. 6. d 2 Tim. 1. 9. John 1. 13. Rom. 3. 7, 8. Hag. 2.14. Ifa. 58. 1-5. Ifa. 66. 2, 3.

Matt. 5.48. Mark 12. 30, 31. Phil. 4. 8, 9. 1 Job 9. 2, 3, 20, 21. Pfal. 143. 2.

Prov. 20. 9. Phil. 3. 8-15. Luke 17. 10, with ver. 7, 8, 9.

1 Ifa. 53. 3, 4, 5. Heb. 2. 17, with Heb. 5. 15. Luke 1. 35, with Acts 3. 14. John 14. 30. 2 Cor. 5. 21. Heb. 7. 26. 1 1 Pet. 1. 19. 1 Eph. 5. 2.

made," should take away the sins of the world; and sin (as St. John saith) was not in him. But all we the rest, although baptized and regenerate, yet offend in many things; and if we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.

Articles of the Church of England, takeaway the fins of the world; and fin, (as St. John faith) was not in him. But all the rest, (although baptized, and born again in Christ) yet offend in many things; and if we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.

CHARLES HERLE, prolocutor. HENRY ROBOROUGH, feriba. ADONIRAM BYFIELD, feriba.

N. B. The Affembly proceeded no farther in the revifal.

No. VII.

The DIRECTORY for the Publick Worship of God,

Agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster; examined and approved, Anno 1645, by the GENERAL ASSEMBLY of the CHURCH of SCOTLAND; and ratisfied by A&t of Parliament the same year.

THE PREFACE.

In the beginning of the bleffed reformation, our wife and pious ancestors took care to set forth an order for redress of many things, which they then, by the word, discovered to be vain, erroneous, superstitious, and idolatrous, in the publick worship of God. This occasioned many godly and learned men to rejoice much in the book of Common-Prayer, at that time set forth; because the mass, and the rest of the Latin service, being removed, the publick worship was celebrated in our own tongue; many of the common people also received benefit by hearing the scriptures read in their own language, which formerly were unto them as a book that is sealed.

Howbeit, long and fad experience hath made it manifest, that the liturgy used in the church of England, (notwithstanding all the pains and religious intentions of the compilers of it) hath proved an offence, not only to many of the godly at home, but also to the reformed churches abroad. For not to speak of urging the reading of all the prayers, which very greatly increased the burden of it; the many unprofitable and burdensome ceremonies contained in it, have occa-

F Heb. 9. 26, 28. Heb. 10. 10, 12. John 1. 29. Fi John 3. 5. 9 James 3. 2. S John 1. 8, 10.

fioned much mischief, as well by disquieting the consciences of many godly ministers and people, who could not yield unto them, as by depriving them of the ordinances of God, which they might not enjoy without conforming or fubscribing to those ceremonies. Sundry good christians have been, by means thereof, kept from the Lord's table, and divers able and faithful ministers debarred from the exercife of their ministry, (to the endangering of many thousand fouls, in a time of fuch fearcity of faithful pastors) and spoiled of their livelihood, to the undoing of them and their families. Prelates and their faction have laboured to raise the estimation of it to such an height, as if there were no other worship, or way of worship of God amongst us, but only the fervice-book; to the great hindrance of the preaching of the word, and, (in some places, especially of late) to the justiling of it out, as unnecessary; or (at best) as far inferior to the reading of common-prayer, which was made no better than an idol by many ignorant and fuperititious people, who, pleasing themselves in their presence at that service, and their lip-labour in bearing a part in it, have thereby hardened themselves in their ignorance and carelessness of faving knowledge and true piety.

In the mean time, papifts boafted, that the book was a compliance with them in a great part of their fervice; and so were not a little confirmed in their supersition and idolatry, expecting bother our return to them, than endeavouring the reformation of themselves: in which expectation they were of late very much encouraged, when, upon the pretended warrantableness of imposing the former ceremo-

nies, new ones were daily obtruded upon the church.

Add hereunto, (which was not foreseen, but since hath come to pass) that the liturgy hath been a great means, as on the one hand to make and increase an idle and unedifying ministry, which contented inself with set forms made to their hands by others, without putting forth themselves to exercise the gift of prayer, with which our Lord fesus Christ pleaseth to furnish all his servants, whom he calls to that office: So on the other side it hath been (and ever would be, if continued) a matter of endless strike and contention in the church, and a snare both to many godly and faithful ministers, who have been persecuted and silenced upon that occasion, and to others of hopeful parts, many of which have been, and more still would be diverted from all thoughts of the ministry to other studies; especially in these later times, wherein God vouchsafeth to his people more and better means for the discovery of error and supersition, and for attaining of knowledge in the mysteries of godliness, and gifts in preaching and prayer.

Upon these, and many the like weighty considerations, in reference to the whole book in general, and because of divers particulars contained in it; not from any love to novelty, or intention to disputate our first reformers, (of whom we are persuaded, that, were they now alive, they would join with us in this work, and whom we acknow

ledge as excellent infruments, raifed by God, to begin the purging and building of his house, and desire they may be had of us and posterity in everlasting remembrance, with thankfulness and honour) but that we may, in some measure, answer the gracious providence of God, which at this time calleth upon us for further reformation, and may satisfy our own consciences, and answer the expectation of other reformed churches, and the desires of many of the godly among ourselves, and withal give some publick testimony of our endeavours for uniformity in divine worship, which we have promised in our solemn league and covenant: we have, after earnest and frequent calling upon the name of God, and after much consultation, not with sless and blood, but with his holy word, resolved to lay asside the former liturgy, with the many rites and ceremonies formerly used in the worship of God; and have agreed upon this following directory for all the parts of publick worship, at ordinary and extraordinary times.

Wherein our care hath been, to hold forth fuch things as are of divine inflitution in every ordinance; and other things we have endeavoured to fet forth according to the rules of christian prudence, agreeable to the general rules of the word of God: our meaning therein being only, that the general heads, the fense and scope of the prayers, and other parts of publick worship, being known to all, there may be a confent of all the churches, in those things that contain the fubiliance of the fervice and worthip of God; and the ministers may be hereby directed in their administrations, to keep like foundness in doctrine and prayer; and may, if need be, have some help and furniture; and yet so, as they become not hereby slothful and negligent, in flirring up the gifts of Christ in them; but, that each one, by meditation, by taking heed to himself and the flock of God committed to him, and by wife observing the ways of divine providence, may be careful to furnish his heart and tongue with further, or other materials of prayer and of exhortation, as shall be needful upon all occasions.

Of the affembling of the Congregation, and their Behaviour in the publick Worship of God.

WHEN the congregation is to meet for publick worship, the people, (having before prepared their hearts thereunto) ought all to come, and join therein; not absenting themselves from the publick ordinances through negligence, or upon pretence of private meetings.

Let all enter the affembly, not irreverently, but in a grave and feemly manner, taking their feats or places without adoration, or

bowing themselves towards one place or other.

The congregation being assembled, the minister, after solemn calling on them to the worshipping of the great name of God, is to

begin with prayer.

"In all reverence and humility acknowledging the incomprehenfible greatness and majesty of the Lord, (in whose presence they do then in a special manner appear) and their own vileness and unworthings."

" nefs to approach fo near him, with their utter inability of themselve" " to fo great a work; and humbly befeeching him for pardon, affift-" ance, and acceptance, in the whole fervice then to be performed; " and for a bleffing on that particular portion of his word then to be " read: and all in the name and mediation of the Lord Jefus Chrift."

The publick worship being begun, the people are wholly to attend upon it, forbearing to read any thing, except what the minister is then reading or citing; and abstaining much more from all private whifperings, conferences, falutations, or doing reverence to any perfons prefent, or coming in; as also from all gazing, sleeping, and other indecent behaviour, which may diffurb the minister or people, or hinder themselves and others in the service of God.

If any, through necessity, be hindered from being present at the beginning, they ought not, when they come into the congregation, to betake themselves to their private devotions, but reverently to compose themselves to join with the affectly, in that ordinance of

God which is then in hand.

Of publick Reading of the Holy Scriptures.

READING of the word in the congregation, being part of the publick worship of God, (wherein we acknowledge our dependance upon him, and fubjection to him) and one means fanctified by him for the edifying of his people, is to be performed by the paftors and teachers.

Howbeit, fuch as intend the ministry, may occasionally both read the word, and exercise their gift in preaching in the congregation, if

allowed by the prefbytery thereunto.

All the canonical books of the Old and New Testament, (but none of those which are commonly called apocrypha) shall be publickly read in the vulgar tongue, out of the best allowed translation, distinctly, that all may hear and understand.

How large a portion shall be read at once, is left to the wisdom of the minister; but it is convenient, that ordinarily one chapter of each testament be read at every meeting; and sometimes more, where the chapters be short, or the coherence of matter requireth it.

It is requifite that all the canonical books be read over in order, that the people may be better acquainted with the whole body of the scriptures; and ordinarily, where the reading in either testament endeth on one Lord's day, it is to begin the next.

We commend also the more frequent reading of such scriptures, as he that readeth shall think best for edification of his hearers, as the

book of Pfalms, and fuch like.

When the minister, who readeth, shall judge it necessary to expound any part of what is read, let it not be done intil the whole chapter or pfalm be ended; and regard is always to be had unto the time that neither preaching, nor other ordinance, be straitned, or

rendered

rendered tedious. Which rule is to be observed in all other publick

performances.

Beside publick reading of the holy scriptures, every person that can read is to be exhorted to read the scriptures privately, (and all others that cannot read, if not disabled by age, or otherwise, are likewise to be exhorted to learn to read) and to have a bible.

Of publick Prayer before the Sermon.

AFTER reading of the word, (and finging of the pfalm) the minister who is to preach, is to endeavour to get his own, and his hearers' hearts to be rightly affected with their fins, that they may all mourn in fense thereof before the Lord, and hunger and thirst after the grace of God in Jesus Christ, by proceeding to a more full confession of sin, with shame and holy confusion of sace, and to call upon the Lord to this effect:

"To acknowledge our great finfulness, first, by reason of original sin, "which (befide the guilt that makes us liable to everlaiting damna-"tion) is the feed of all other fins, hath depraved and poisoned all the " faculties and powers of foul and body, doth defile our best actions, " and (were it not restrained, or our hearts renewed by grace) would "break forth into innumerable transgressions, and greatest rebellions " against the Lord, that ever were committed by the vilest of the sons " of men. And, next, by reason of actual sins, our own sins, the sins " of magistrates, of ministers, and of the whole nation, unto which "we are many ways accessary: which sins of ours receive many " fearful aggravations, we having broken all the commandments of "the holy, just, and good law of God, doing that which is forbid-"den, and leaving undone what is enjoined; and that not only out " of ignorance and infirmity, but also more prefumptuously, against " the light of our minds, checks of our consciences, and motions of " his own holy spirit to the contrary, so that we have no cloak for " our fins; yea, not only despising the riches of God's goodness, for-" bearance and long fuffering, but standing out against many invi-" tations and offers of grace in the gospel; not endeavouring, as we "ought, to receive Christ into our hearts by faith, or to walk " worthy of him in our lives.

"To bewail our blindness of mind, hardness of heart, unbelief, impenitency, security, lukewarmness, barrenness; our not endeate vouring after mortification and newness of life, nor after the exercise of godliness in the power thereof: and that the best of us have not so ftedfastly walked with God, kept our garments so unspotted, nor been so zealous of his glory, and the good of others, as we ought: and to mourn over such other sins, as the congregation is particularly guilty of, notwithstanding the manifold and great mercies of our God, the love of Christ, the light of the gospel, and reformation of religion, our own purposes, promises, vows, so solemn covenant, and other special obligations to the contrary.

"To acknowledge and confess, that, as we are convinced of ou guilt, so, out of a deep sense thereof, we judge ourselves unworthy of the smallest benefits, most worthy of God's siercest wrath, and of all the curses of the law, and heaviest judgments inflicted upon the most rebellious sinners; and that he might most justly take his kingdom and gospel from us, plague us with all forts of spiritual and temporal judgments in this life, and after cast us into utter darkness, in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone, where is weeping and gnashing of teeth for evermore.

"Notwithstanding all which, to draw near to the throne of grace, encouraging ourselves with hope of a gracious answer of our prayers, in the riches and all-sufficiency of that one only oblation, the satisfaction and intercession of the Lord Jesus Christ, at the right hand of his Father, and our Father; and in considence of the exceeding great and precious promises of mercy and grace in the new covenant, through the same mediator thereof, to deprecate the heavy wrath and curse of GOD, which we are not able to avoid, or bear; and humbly and earnestly to supplicate for mercy, in the free and full remission of all our sins, and that only for the bitter sufferings and precious merits of our only Saviour Jesus Christ.

"That the Lord would vouchfafe to shed abroad his love in our hearts by the Holy Ghost; feal unto us, by the fame spirit of adoption, the full assurance of our pardon and reconciliation; comfort all that mourn in Zion, speak peace to the wounded and troubled foirit, and bind up the broken-hearted: and as for secure and presumptious sinners, that he would open their eyes, convince their consciences, and turn them from darkness unto light, and from the power of satan unto God, that they also may receive forgiveness of sin, and an inheritance among them that are sanctined by faith in Christ Jesus.

"With remission of fins through the blood of Christ, to pray for fanctification by his spirit; the mortification of fin dwelling in, and many times tyrannizing over us; the quickening of our dead spirits, with the life of God in Christ; grace to sit and enable us for all duties of conversation and callings towards God and men; strength against temptations, the fanctified use of blessings and crosses, and

"perfeverance in faith and obedience unto the end.

"To pray for the propagation of the gospel and kingdom of Christ to all nations, for the conversion of the Jews, the fulness of the gentiles, the fall of antichrist, and the hastening of the second coming of our Lord: for the deliverance of the distressed churches abroad from the tyranny of the antichristian faction, and from the cruel oppressions and blasphemies of the Turk; for the blessing of God upon all the reformed churches, especially upon the churches and kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland, now more strictly and religiously united in the solemn national league and covenant; and for our plantations in the most remote parts of the world:

"more particularly for that church and kingdom whereof we are members, that therein God would establish peace and truth, the purity of all his ordinances, and the power of godlines; prevent and remove herefy, schiss, profanenes, superstition, security, and unfruitfulness under the means of grace; heal all our rents and divisions, and preserve us from breach of our schema covenant.

"To pray for all in authority, especially for the King's Majesty, at that God would make him rich in bleffings, both in his person " and government; establish his throne in religion and righteousness, " fave him from evil counsel, and make him a bleffed and glorious " instrument, for the conservation and propagation of the gospel, " for the encouragement and protection of them that do well, the "terror of all that do evil, and the great good of the whole " church, and of all his kingdoms; for the conversion of the queen, "the religious education of the prince, and the rest of the royal seed; " for the comforting the afflicted queen of Bohemia, fifter to our " fovereign: and for the restitution and establishment of the illustrious " prince Charles, elector palatine of the Rhine, to all his dominions " and dignities; for a bleffing upon the high court of parliament, " (when fitting in any of these kingdoms respectively) the nobility, " the fubordinate judges and magistrates, the gentry, and all the " commonalty; for all pattors and teachers, that God would fill "them with his spirit, make them exemplarily holy, sober, just, " peaceable, and gracious in their lives; found, faithful, and powerful " in their ministry; and foilow all their labours with abundance of " fuccess and bleffing; and give unto all his people pastors according "to his own heart; for the universities, and all schools and religious " feminaries of church and commonwealth, that they may flourish " more and more in learning and piety; for the particular city or " congregation, that God would pour out a bleffing upon the ministry " of the word, facraments and discipline, upon the civil government, "and all the feveral families and perfons therein; for mercy to the " afflicted under any inward or outward diffress. For seasonable weather, and fruitful feafons, as the time may require; for averting "the judgments that we either feel or fear, or are liable unto, as

" famine, peftilence, the fword, and fuch like.

"And, with confidence of his mercy to his whole church, and the acceptance of our persons, through the merits and mediation of our high priest the Lord Jesus, to profess that it is the desire of our fouls to have fellowship with God, in the reverend and conscionable use of his holy ordinances; and to that purpose, to pray earnestly for his grace and effectual affistance to the fanctification of his holy sabbath, the Lord's day, in all the duties thereof, publick and private, both to ourselves, and to all other congregations of his people, according to the riches and excellency of the gospel,

" this day celebrated and enjoyed.

"And because we have been unprofitable hearers in times past, and now cannot of ourselves receive, as we should, the deep things of God, the mysteries of Jesus Christ, which require a spiritual discerning; to pray that the Lord, who teacheth to profit, would graciously please to pour out the spirit of grace, together with the outward means thereof, causing us to attain such a measure of the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus our Lord, and in him, of the things which belong to our peace, that we may account all things but as dross in comparison of him: and that we, tasting the first fruits of the glory that is to be revealed, may long for a more full and perfect communion with him, that where he is, we may be also, and enjoy the fullness of those joys and pleasures which are at his right hand for evermore.

"More particularly, that God would in special manner furnish his fervant, (now called to dispense the bread of life unto his houshold) with wisdom, fidelity, zeal, and utterance, that he may divide the word of God aright, to every one his portion, in evidence and demonstration of the spirit and power: and that the Lord would circumcise the ears and hearts of the hearers, to hear, love, and receive with meekness, the ingrafted word, which is able to save their souls; make them as good ground to receive in the good seed of the word, and strengthen them against the temptations of satan, the cares of the world, the hardness of their own hearts, and what-source seeds hinder their profitable and saving hearing; that so Christ may be fo formed in them, and live in them, that all their thoughts may be brought into captivity to the obedience of Christ, and their hearts established in every good word and work for ever."

We judge this to be a convenient order, in the ordinary publick prayers; yet so, as the minister may defer (as in prudence he shall think meet) some part of these petitions, till after his sermon, or offer up to God some of the thanksgivings hereafter appointed, in his prayer before his sermon.

Of the Preaching of the Word.

PREACHING of the word being the power of God unto falvation, and one of the greatest and most excellent works belonging to the ministry of the gospel, should be so performed, that the workman need not be ashamed, but may save himself, and those that hear him.

It is presupposed, (according to the rules for ordination) that the minister of Christ is in some good measure gifted for so weighty a service, by his skill in the original languages, and in such arts and sciences as are handmaids unto divinity; by his knowledge in the whole body of theology, but most of all in the holy scriptures, having his senses and heart exercised in them above the common fort of believers; and by the illumination of God's spirit, and other, gifts of edification, which (together with reading and studying of the word)

he ought still to seek by prayer, and an humble heart, resolving to admit and receive any truth not yet attained, whenever God shall make it known unto him. All which he is to make use of, and improve in his private preparations, before he deliver in publick what he hath provided.

Ordinarily, the subject of his fermon is to be some text of scripture, holding forth some principle or head of religion, or suitable to some special occasion emergent; or he may go on in some chapter,

pfalm, or book of the holy scripture, as he shall see fit.

Let the introduction to his text be brief and perspicuous, drawn from the text itself, or context, or some parallel place, or general

fentence of scripture.

If the text be long, (as in histories and parables it sometimes must be) let him give a brief sum of it; if short, a paraphrase thereof, if need be: in both, looking diligently to the scope of the text, and pointing at the chief heads and grounds of doctrine, which he is to raise from it.

In analysing and dividing his text, he is to regard more the order of matter, than of words; and neither to burden the memory of the hearers in the beginning with too many members of division, nor to

trouble their minds with obscure terms of art.

In raising doctrines from the text, his care ought to be, first, that the matter be the truth of God. Secondly, that it be a truth contained in, or grounded on that text, that the hearers may discern how God teacheth it from thence. Thirdly, that he chiefly insist upon those doctrines which are principally intended, and make most for the edification of the hearers.

The doctrine is to be expressed in plain terms; or, if any thing in it need explication, it is to be opened, and the consequence also from the text cleared. The parallel places of scripture, confirming the doctrine, are rather to be plain and pertinent, than many, and (if need be) somewhat infished upon, and applied to the purpose in hand.

The arguments and reasons are to be solid; and, as much as may be, convincing. The illustrations, of what kind soever, ought to be full of light, and such as may convey the truth into the hearer's heart

with spiritual delight.

If any doubt, obvious from scripture, reason, or prejudice of the hearers, seem to arise, it is very requisite to remove it, by reconciling the seeming differences, answering the reasons, and discovering and taking away the causes of prejudice and mistake. Otherwise it is not fit to detain the hearers with propounding or answering vain or wicked cavils, which as they are endless, so the propounding and answering of them doth more hinder than promote edification.

He is not to reft in general doctrine, although never fo much cleared and confirmed, but to bring it home to special use, by application to his hearers; which albeit it prove a work of great difficulty

to himself, requiring much prudence, zeal, and meditation, and to the natural and corrupt man will be very unpleasant; yet he is to endeavour to perform it in such a manner, that his auditors may feel the word of God to be quick and powerful, and a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart; and that, if any unbeliever or ignorant person be present, he may have the secrets of his heart made manifest, and give glory to God.

In the use of instruction or information in the knowledge of some truth, which is a consequence from his doctrine, he may (when convenient) consirm it by a few firm arguments from the text in hand, and other places of scripture, or from the nature of that com-

mon-place in divinity, whereof that truth is a branch.

In confutation of false doctrines, he is neither to raise an old herefy from the grave, nor to mention a blasphemous opinion unnecessarily: but if the people be in danger of an error, he is to confute it foundly, and endeavour to fatisfy their judgments and consciences against all objections.

In exhorting to duties, he is, as he feeth cause, to teach also the

means that help to the performance of them.

In dehortation, reprehension, and publick admonition, (which require special wisdom) let him, as there shall be cause, not only discover the nature and greatness of the sin, with the misery attending it, but also shew the danger his hearers are in to be overtaken and surprized by it, together with the remedies and best way to avoid it.

In applying comfort, whether general against all temptations, or particular against some special troubles or terrors, he is carefully to answer such objections, as a troubled heart and afflisted spirit may

fuggest to the contrary.

It is also sometimes requisite to give some notes of trial, (which is very profitable, especially when performed by able and experienced ministers, with circumspection and prudence, and the signs clearly grounded on the holy scripture) whereby the hearers may be able to examine themselves, whether they have attained those graces, and performed those duties to which he exhorteth, or be guilty of the sin reprehended, and in danger of the judgments threatened, or are such to whom the consolations propounded do belong; that accordingly they may be quickened and excited to duty, humbled for their wants and sins, affected with their danger, and strengthened with comfort, as their condition upon examination shall require.

And, as he needeth not always to profecute every doctrine which lies in his text, so is he wisely to make choice of such uses, as by his residence and conversing with his slock, he sindeth most needful and seasonable; and, amongst these, such as may most draw their souls

to Christ, the fountain of light, holiness, and comfort.

This method is not prescribed as necessary for every man, or upon every text; but only recommended, as being found by experience to

be very much bleffed of God, and very helpful for the people's understandings and memories.

But the fervant of Christ, whatever his method be, is to perform his whole ministry.

1. Painfully, not doing the work of the Lord negligently.

2. Plainly, that the meanest may understand, delivering the truth, not in the enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the spirit and of power, lest the cross of Christ should be made of none effect; abstaining also from an unprofitable use of unknown tongues, strange phrases, and cadences of sounds and words, sparingly citing sentences of ecclesiastical, or other human writers, ancient or modern, be they never so elegant.

3. Faithfully looking at the honour of Christ, the conversion, edification and salvation of the people, not at his own gain or glory, keeping nothing back which may promote those holy ends, giving to every one his own portion, and bearing indifferent respect unto all, without neglecting the meanest, or sparing the greatest in their sins.

4. Wifely, framing all his doctrines, exhortations, and especially his reproofs, in such a manner as may be most likely to prevail, shewing all due respect to each man's person and place, and not mixing his own passion or bitterness.

5. Gravely, as becometh the word of God, shunning all such gesture, voice, and expressions, as may occasion the corruptions of men to despise him and his ministry.

6. With loving affection, that the people may see all coming from

his godly zeal, and hearty defire to do them good.

7. As taught of God, and persuaded in his own heart, that all that he teacheth is the truth of Christ; and walking before his slock, as an example to them in it: earnestly, both in private and publick, recommending his labours to the blessing of God, and watchfully looking to himself and the flock, whereof the Lord hath made him overseer: so shall the doctrine of truth be preserved uncorrupt, many souls converted and built up, and himself receive manyfold comforts of his labours, even in this life, and afterwards the crown of glory laid up for him in the world to come.

Where there are more ministers in a congregation than one, and they of different gifts, each may more especially apply himself to doctrine or exhortation, according to the gift wherein he most excelleth, and as they shall agree between themselves.

THE fermon being ended, the minister is "to give thanks for the great love of God, in sending his Son Jesus Christ unto us; "for the communication of his holy spirit; for the light and liberty of the glorious gospel, and the rich and heavenly blessings revealed "therein;

Of Prayer after Sermon.

"therein; as namely, election, vocation, adoption, justification, fanc"tification, and hope of glory: for the admirable goodness of God,
"in freeing the land from antichristian darkness and tyranny, and
for all other national deliverances: for the reformation of religion;
for the covenant; and for many temporal blessings.

"To pray for the continuance of the gospel, and all ordinances thereof, in their purity, power, and liberty: to turn the chief and most useful heads of the sermon into some few petitions; and to pray that it may abide in the heart, and bring forth fruit.

"To pray for preparation for death and judgment, and a watching for the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ: to intreat of God the forgiveness of the iniquities of our holy things, and the acceptation of our spiritual facrifice, through the merit and mediation of our great high priest and Saviour the Lord Jesus Christ."

And because the prayer which Christ taught his disciples is not only a pattern of prayer, but itself a most comprehensive prayer, we recommend it also to be used in the prayers of the church.

And whereas, at the administration of the facraments, the holding publick fasts, and days of thanksgiving, and other special occasions, which may afford matter of special petitions and thanksgivings, it is requisite to express somewhat in our publick prayers, (as at this time, it is our duty to pray for a blessing upon the assembly of divines, the armies by sea and land, for the defence of the king, parliament, and kingdom) every minister is herein to apply himself in his prayer, before or after sermon, to those occasions: but for the manner he is left to his liberty, as God shall direct and enable him, in piety and wisdom to discharge his duty.

The prayer ended, let a plalm be fung, if with conveniency it may be done. After which, (unless some other ordinance of Christ, that concerneth the congregation at that time, be to follow) let the minister dismiss the congregation with a solemn bleffing.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS.

AND FIRST, OF BAPTISM.

BAPTISM, as it is not unnecessarily to be delayed, so it is not to be administered in any case by any private person, but by a minister of Christ, called to be the steward of the mysteries of God.

Nor is it to be administered in private places, or privately, but in the place of publick worship, and in the face of the congregation, where the people may most conveniently see and hear, and not in the places where fonts, in the time of popery, were unfitly and superstitiously placed.

The

The child to be baptized, after notice given to the minister the day before, is to be presented by the father, or (in case of his necessary absence) by some christian friend in his place, professing his earnest desire that the child may be baptized.

Before baptism, the minister is to use some words of instruction, touching the institution, nature, use, and ends of this sacrament: shewing,

"That it is inflituted by our Lord Jesus Christ; that it is a seal " of the covenant of grace, of our ingrafting into Christ, and of our " union with him, of remission of fins, regeneration, adoption, and " life eternal. That the water in baptifm representeth and fignifieth, " both the blood of Chrift, which taketh away all guilt of fin, original " and actual; and the fanctifying virtue of the spirit of Christ against "the dominion of fin, and the corruption of our finful nature: that " baptizing, or fprinkling and washing with water, fignifieth the " cleanfing from fin by the blood, and for the merit of Christ, toge-"ther with the mortification of fin, and rifing from fin to newnefs " of life, by virtue of the death and refurrection of Christ: that the " promise is made to believers and their seed; and that the seed and " posterity of the faithful, born within the church, have by their birth, " interest in the covenant, and right to the seal of it, and to the out-"ward privileges of the church under the gospel, no less than the " children of Abraham in the time of the Old Testament; the cove-" nant of grace, for substance, being the same; and the grace of "God, and the consolation of believers, more plentiful than before: "that the Son of God admitted little children into his presence, " embracing and bleffing them, faying, for of fuch is the kingdom of "God: that children, by baptism, are solemnly received into the " bosom of the visible church, distinguished from the world, and "them that are without, and united with believers; and that all who " are baptized in the name of Christ, do renounce, and by their " baptism, are bound to fight against the devil, the world, and the " flesh: that they are christians, and forderally holy before baptism, " and therefore are they baptized: that the inward grace and virtue " of baptifm, is not tied to that very moment of time wherein it is "administered, and that the fruit and power thereof reacheth to the "whole course of our life; and that outward baptism is not so neces-" fary, that through the want thereof the infant is in danger of "damnation, or the parents guilty, if they do not contemn or neglect "the ordinance of Christ, when and where it may be had."

In these, or the like instructions, the minister is to use his own liberty and godly wisdom, as the ignorance or errors in the doctrine of baptism, and the edification of the people shall require.

He is also to admonish all that are present,

"To look back to their baptism; to repent of their sins against their covenant with God; to stir up their faith; to improve and "make"

" make the right use of their baptism, and of the covenant sealed thereby betwixt God and their souls."

He is to exhort the Parent,

"To consider the great mercy of God to him and his child, to bring up the child in the knowledge of the grounds of the christian religion, and in the nurture and admonition of the Lord; and to let him know the danger of God's wrath to himself and child, if he be negligent; requiring his solemn promise for the performance of his duty."

This being done, prayer is also to be joined with the word of inflruction, for fanctifying the water to this spiritual use; and the

minister is to pray to this or the like effect:

"That the Lord, who hath not left us as strangers without the covenant of promise, but called us to the privileges of his ordinances,
would graciously vouchsafe to fanctify and bless his own ordinance
of baptism at this time: that he would join the inward baptism of
his spirit with the outward baptism of water; make this baptism to
the infant a seal of adoption, remission of sin, regeneration, and
eternal life, and all other promises of the covenant of grace: that
the child may be planted into the likeness of the death and resurrection of Christ; and that the body of sin being destroyed in him,
he may serve God in newness of life all his days."

Then the minister is to demand the name of the child, which being

told him, he is to fay, (calling the child by his name)

I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

As he pronounceth these words, he is to baptize the child with water; which, for the manner of doing it, is not only lawful but sufficient, and most expedient to be, by pouring or sprinkling of the water on the face of the child, without adding any other ceremony.

This done, he is to give thanks, and to pray, to this or the like

purpole:

"Ackowledging with all thankfulness, that the Lord is true and faithful in keeping covenant and mercy; that he is good and gracious, not only in that he numbereth us among his faints, but is pleased also to bestow upon our children this singular token and badge of his love in Christ: that, in his truth and special providence, he daily bringeth some into the bosom of his church, to be partakers of his inestimable benefits, purchased by the blood of his dear Son, for the continuance and increase of his church.

"And praying, that the Lord would still continue, and daily confirm more and more this his unspeakable favour: that he would receive the infant, now baptized, and solemnly entered into the houshold of faith, into his fatherly tuition and defence, and revol. v.

" member him with the favour that he sheweth to his people: that, " if he shall be taken out of this life in his infancy, the Lord, who is " rich in mercy, would be pleafed to receive him up into glory; and " if he live, and attain the years of discretion, that the Lord would for teach him by his word and spirit, and make his baptism effectual to him, and fo uphold him by his divine power and grace, that by " faith he may prevail against the devil, the world, and the flesh, " till in the end he obtain a full and final victory, and so be kept by " the power of God through faith unto falvation, through Jesus " Christ our Lord."

Of the Gelebration of the Communion, or Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

THE communion, or supper of the Lord, is frequently to be celebrated: but how often, may be confidered, and determined by the ministers, and other church-governors of each congregation, as they shall find most convenient for the comfort and edification of the people committed to their charge. And when it shall be administered, we judge it convenient to be done after the morning fermon.

The ignorant and the scandalous are not fit to receive this facra-

ment of the Lord's supper.

Where this facrament cannot with convenience be frequently administered, it is requisite that publick warning be given the sabbathday before the administration thereof: and that either then, or on fome day of that week, fomething concerning that ordinance, and the due preparation thereunto, and participation thereof, be taught, that by the diligent use of all means fanctified of God to that end, both in publick and private, all may come better prepared to that heavenly feaft.

When the day is come for administration, the minister, having

ended his fermon and prayer, shall make a short exhortation,

"Expressing the inestimable benefit we have by this facrament; to-"gether with the ends and use thereof: setting forth the great necessity " of having our comforts and strength renewed thereby, in this our " pilgrimage and warfare: how necessary it is, that we come unto it "with knowledge, faith, repentance, love, and with hungring and "thirsting souls after Christ and his benefits: how great the danger " to eat and drink unworthily.

" Next, he is, in the name of Christ, on the one part, to warn all " fuch as are ignorant, scandalous, profane, or that live in any fin or " offence against their knowledge or conscience, that they presume " not to come to that holy table; shewing them that he that easeth " and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh judgment unto him-" felf: and on the other part, he is in especial manner to invite and " encourage all that labour under the fense of the burden of their sins, "and fear of wrath, and defire to reach out unto a greater progress in

" grace than yet they can attain unto, to come to the Lord's table; affuring them, in the same name, of ease, refreshing, and strength, to their weak and wearied souls."

After this exhortation, warning, and invitation, the table being before decently covered, and so conveniently placed that the communicants may orderly sit about it, or at it, the minister is to begin the action with fanctifying and blessing the elements of bread and wine set before him, (the bread in comely and convenient vessels, so prepared, that being broken by him, and given, it may be distributed amongst the communicants: the wine also in large cups;) having first in a few words shewed, that those elements, otherwise common, are now set apart and fanctified to this holy use, by the word of institution and prayer.

Let the words of inftitution be read out of the evangelists, or out of the first epistle of the apostle Paul to the Corinthians, chap. xi. verse 23. I have received of the Lord, &c. to the 27th verse, which the minister may, when he seeth requisite, explain and apply.

Let the prayer, thanksgiving, or blessing of the bread and wine, be to this effect:

"WITH humble and hearty acknowledgment of the greatness of our misery, from which neither man nor angel was able to deliwer us, and of our great unworthiness of the least of all God's mercies; to give thanks to God for all his benefits, and especially for that great benefit of our redemption, the love of God the Father, the sufferings and merits of the Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, by which we are delivered; and for all means of grace, the word, and sacraments; and for this sacrament in particular, by which Christ, and all his benefits, are applied and sealed up unto us, which, not-withstanding the denial of them unto others, are in great mercy continued unto us, after so much and long abuse of them all.

"To profess, that there is no other name under heaven by which we can be saved, but the name of Jesus Christ, by whom alone we receive liberty and life, have access to the throne of grace, are admitted to eat and drink at his own table, and are sealed up by his fpirit to an affurance of happiness and everlasting life.

"Earnestly to pray to God, the Father of all mercies, and God of all consolation, to vouchsafe his gracious presence, and the effectual working of his spirit in us, and so to fanctify these elements, both of bread and wine, and to bless his own ordinance, that we may receive, by faith, the body and blood of Jesus Christ crucified for us, and so to feed upon him, that he may be one with us, and we with him; that he may live in us, and we in him, and to him, who hath loved us, and given himself for us."

All which he is to endeavour to perform with fuitable affections, answerable to such an holy action, and to stiff up the like in the people.

The elements being now fanctified by the word and prayer, the minister, being at the table, is to take the bread in his hand, and say, in these expressions, (or other the like, used by Christ, or his apostle

upon this occasion:)

"According to the holy inftitution, command, and example of our " bleffed Saviour Jefus Christ, I take this bread, and having given "thanks, I break it, and give it unto you, (there the minister, who " is also himself to communicate, is to break the bread and give it to "the communicants:) Take ye, eat ye; this is the body of Christ which " is broken for you; do this in remembrance of him."

In like manner the minister is to take the cup, and fay, in these expressions, (or other the like, used by Christ, or the apostle, upon

the fame occasion;)

" According to the institution, command, and example of our " Lord Jesus Christ, I take this cup, and give it unto you, (here " he giveth it to the communicants) This cup is the New Testament " in the blood of Christ, which is shed for the remission of the sins of " many; drink ye all of it."

After all have communicated, the minister may, in a few words,

put them in mind,

"Of the grace of God, in Jesus Christ, held forth in this facra-" ment; and exhort them to walk worthy of it."

The minister is to give solemn thanks to God,

" For his rich mercy, and invaluable goodness vouchsafed to them " in that facrament; and to intreat for pardon for the defects of the "whole fervice, and for the gracious affiftance of his good spirit, "whereby they may be enabled to walk in the strength of that " grace, as becometh those who have received so great pledges of " falvation."

The collection for the poor is fo to be ordered, that no part of the publick worship be thereby hindered.

Of the Sanctification of the Lord's Day.

THE Lord's day ought to be so remembered before-hand, as that all worldly bufiness of our ordinary callings may be so ordered, and so timely and feafonably laid afide, as they may not be impediments to

the due fanctifying of the day when it comes.

The whole day is to be celebrated as holy to the Lord, both in publick and private, as being the christian sabbath. To which end it is requifite, that there be a holy ceffation, or refting all the day, from all unnecessary labours; and an abitaining, not only from all sports and pastimes, but also from all worldly words and thoughts.

That the diet on that day be so ordered, as that neither servants be unnecessarily detained from the publick worship of God, nor any

other persons hindered from the sanctifying that day.

That

That there be private preparation of every person and family, by prayer for themselves, and for God's assistance of the minister, and for a blessing upon his ministry; and by such other holy exercises as may further dispose them to a more comfortable communion with God in his publick ordinances.

That all the people meet so timely for publick worship, that the whole congregation may be present at the beginning, and with one heart solemnly join together in all parts of the publick worship, and

not depart till after the bleffing.

That what time is vacant, between, or after the folemn meetings of the congregation in publick, be spent in reading, meditation, repetition of sermons; (especially by calling their families to an account of what they have heard) and catechizing of them, holy conferences, prayer for a bleffing upon the publick ordinances, singing of psalms, visiting the sick, relieving the poor, and such-like duties of piety, charity, and mercy, accounting the sabbath a delight.

The Solemnization of Marriage.

ALTHOUGH marriage be no facrament, nor peculiar to the church of God, but common to mankind, and of publick interest in every commonwealth; yet because such as marry, are to marry in the Lord, and have special need of instruction, direction, and exhortation from the word of God, at their entering into such a new condition; and of the blessing of God upon them therein; we judge it expedient, that marriage be solemnized by a lawful minister of the word, that he may accordingly counsel them, and pray for a blessing upon them.

Marriage is to be betwixt one man and one woman only; and they fuch as are not within the degrees of confanguinity or affinity prohibited by the word of God; and the parties are to be of years of difcretion, fit to make their own choice, or upon good grounds to give

their mutual confent.

Before the folemnizing of marriage between any persons, their purpose of marriage shall be published by the minister, three several sabbath days, in the congregation, at the place or places of their most usual and constant abode respectively. And of this publication, the minister who is to join them in marriage shall have sufficient testimony, before he proceed to solemnize the marriage.

Before that publication of fuch their purpose, (if the parties be under age) the consent of the parents, or others under whose power they are, (in case the parents be dead) is to be made known to the

church officers of that congregation, to be recorded.

The like is to be observed in the proceedings of all others, although of age, whose parents are living, for their first marriage. And in after marriages of either of those parties, they shall be exhorted not

to contract marriage without first acquainting their parents with it, (if with conveniency it may be done) endeavouring to obtain their confent.

Parents ought not to force their children to marry without their

free confent, nor deny their own confent without just cause.

After the purpose or contract of marriage hath been thus published, the marriage is not to be long deferred. Therefore the minister, having had convenient warning, and nothing being objected to hinder it, is publickly to folemnize it in the place appointed by authority for publick worship, before a competent number of credible witnesses, at some convenient hour of the day, at any time of the year, except on a day of publick humiliation. And we advise that it be not on the Lord's day.

And because all relations are sanctified by the word and prayer, the

minister is to pray for a blessing upon them to this effect:

" Acknowledging our fins, whereby we have made ourselves less "than the least of all the mercies of God, and provoked him to im-" bitter all our comforts; earnestly, in the name of Christ, to intreat "the Lord (whose presence and favour is the happiness of every " condition, and fweetens every relation) to be their portion, and to "own and accept them in Christ, who are now to be joined in the "honourable estate of marriage, the covenant of their God: and "that, as he hath brought them together by his providence, he " would fanctify them by his spirit, giving them a new frame of "heart, fit for their new estate; enriching them with all graces, "whereby they may perform the duties, enjoy the comforts, undergo " the cares, and refift the temptations, which accompany that condi-"tion, as becometh christians."

The prayer being ended, it is convenient that the minister do

priefly declare unto them out of the scripture,

"The inftitution, use, and ends of marriage, with the conjugal "duties, which in all faithfulness, they are to perform each to other; " exhorting them to study the holy word of God, that they may learn " to live by faith, and to be content in the midst of all marriage-cares "and troubles, fanctifying God's name, in a thankful, fober, and " holy use of all conjugal comforts; praying much with and for one " another; watching over, and provoking each other to love and "good works; and to live together as the heirs of the grace of life."

After folemn charging of the persons to be married before the great God, who fearcheth all hearts, and to whom they must give a strict account at the last day, that if either of them know any cause, by precontract, or otherwise, why they may not lawfully proceed to marriage, that they now discover it: the minister (if no impediment be acknowledged) shall cause first the man to take the woman by the

right hand, faying these words,

IN. do take thee N. to be my married wife, and do, in the presence of God, and before this congregation, promise and covenant to be a loving and faithful husband unto thee, until God shall separate us by death.

Then the woman shall take the man by his right hand, and fay these words,

I N. do take thee N. to be my married husband, and I do, in the presence of God, and before this congregation, promise and covenant to be a loving, faithful, and obedient wife unto thee, until God shall separate us by death.

Then, without any further ceremony, the minister shall, in the face of the congregation, pronounce them to be husband and wife, according to God's ordinance; and so conclude the action with prayer to this effect;

"That the Lord would be pleased to accompany his own ordinance with his blessing, beseeching him to enrich the persons now
married, as with other pledges of his love, so particularly with the
comforts and fruits of marriage, to the praise of his abundant

" mercy, in and through Christ Jesus."

A register is to be carefully kept, wherein the names of the parties so married, with the time of their marriage, are forthwith to be fairly recorded in a book, provided for that purpose, for the perusal of all whom it may concern.

Concerning Visitation of the Sick.

IT is the duty of the minister, not only to teach the people committed to his charge, in publick; but privately and particularly to admonish, exhort, reprove, and comfort them, upon all seasonable occasions, so far as his time, strength, and personal safety will permit.

He is to admonish them, in time of health, to prepare for death; and for that purpose, they are often to confer with their minister about the estate of their souls; and in times of sickness, to desire his advice and help, timely and seasonably, before their strength and under-

standing fail them.

Times of fickness and affliction are special opportunities put into his hand by God, to minister a word in season to weary souls; because then the consciences of men are, or should be more awakened to bethink themselves of their spiritual estates for eternity; and Satan also takes advantage then, to load them more with sore and heavy temptatio therefore the minister being sent for, and repairing to the sick, ns: apply himself with all tenderness and love, to administer some is to ual good to his soul to this effect.

He m spirit om the consideration of the present sickness, instruct him out ay, fripture, that diseases come not by chance, or by disof scr tempers of body only, but by the wise and orderly guidance of the good hand of God, to every particular person smitten by them. And that, whether it be laid upon him out of displeasure for sin, for his correction and amendment, or for trial and exercise of his graces, or for other special and excellent ends, all his sufferings shall turn to his profit, and work together for his good, if he sincerely labour to make a fanctissed use of God's visitation, neither despising his chastening, nor waxing weary of his correction.

If he fuspect him of ignorance, he shall examine him in the principles of religion, especially touching repentance and faith; and as he seeth cause, instruct him in the nature, use, excellency, and necessity of those graces; as also touching the covenant of grace, and Christ the Son of God, the mediator of it, and concerning remission of sins

by faith in him.

He shall exhort the fick person to examine himself, to search and

try his former ways, and his estate towards God.

And if the fick person shall declare any scruple, doubt or temptation that are upon him, instructions and resolutions shall be given to satisfy and settle him.

If it appear that he hath not a due fense of his sins, endeavours ought to be used to convince him of his sins, of the guilt and desert of them; of the filth and pollution which the soul contracts by them; and of the curse of the law, and wrath of God, due to them; that he may be truly affected with, and humbled for them: and withal to make known the danger of deferring repentance, and of neglecting salvation at any time offered; to awaken his conscience, and rouse him up out of a stupid and secure condition, to apprehend the justice and wrath of God, before whom none can stand, but he that, being

loft to himself, layeth hold upon Christ by faith.

If he have endeavoured to walk in the ways of holiness, and to ferve God in uprightness, although not without many failings and infirmities; or if his spirit be broken with the sense of sin, or cast down through want of the sense of God's favour, then it will be fit to raise him up, by setting before him the freeness and fulness of God's grace, the fufficiency of righteousness in Christ, the gracious offers in the gospel, that all who repent and believe with all their heart in God's mercy through Christ, renouncing their own righteousness, shall have life and salvation in him: it may also be useful to shew him, that death hath in it no spiritual evil to be feared by those that are in Christ, because fin, the sting of death, is taken away by Christ, who hath delivered all that are his, from the bondage of the fear of death, triumphed over the grave, given us victory, is himfelf entered into glory, to prepare a place for his people: fo that neither life nor death shall be able to separate them from God's love in Christ, in whom fuch are fure, though now they must be laid in the dust, to obtain a joyful and glorious refurrection to eternal life. Advice

Advice also may be given, as to beware of an ill-grounded persuasion on mercy, or on the goodness of his condition for heaven, so to
disclaim all merit in himself, and to cast himself wholly upon God
for mercy, in the sole merits and mediation of Jesus Christ, who hath
engaged himself never to cast off them, who in truth and sincerity
come unto him. Care also must be taken, that the sick person be
not cast down into despair, by such a severe representation of the
wrath of God due to him for his sins, as is not mollished by a seasonable propounding of Christ and his merit, for a door of hope to every
penitent believer.

When the fick person is best composed, may be least disturbed, and other necessary offices about him least hindered, the minister, if

defired, shall pray with him, and for him, to this effect;

"Confessing and bewailing of sin original and actual, the miserable condition of all by nature, as being children of wrath, and under the curse; acknowledging that all diseases, sicknesses, death, and hell itself, are the proper issues and effects thereof; imploring God's mercy for the sick person through the blood of Christ; beseeching that God would open his eyes, discover unto him his sins, cause him to see himself lost in himself, make known to him the cause why God smiteth him, reveal Jesus Christ to his soul for righteousness and life, give unto him his holy spirit to create and frengthen faith, to lay hold upon Christ, to work in him comfortable evidences of his love, to arm him against temptations, to take off his heart from the world, to sanctify his present visitation, to furnish him with patience and strength to bear it, and to give him perseverance in faith to the end.

"That if God shall please to add to his days, he would vouchsafe to bless and sanctify all means of his recovery, to remove the disease, renew his strength, and enable him to walk worthy of God, by a faithful remembrance, and diligent observing of such vows and promises of holiness and obedience, as men are apt to make in times of sickness, that he may glorify God in the remaining part

" of his life.

"And if God have determined to finish his days by the present visitation, he may find such evidence of the pardon of all his sins, of his interest in Christ, and eternal life by Christ, as may cause his inward man to be renewed, while his outward man decayeth; that he may behold death without fear, cast himself wholly upon Christ without doubting, desire to be dissolved and be with Christ, and so receive the end of his faith, the salvation of his soul, through the only merits and intercession of the Lord Jesus Christ, our alone Saviour, and all-sufficient Redeemer."

The minister shall admonish him also (as there shall be cause) to set his house in order, thereby to prevent inconveniencies; to take care for the payment of his debts, and to make restitution or satis-

faction

faction where he hath done any wrong, to be reconciled to those with whom he hath been at variance, and fully to forgive all men their trespasses against him, as he expects forgiveness at the hand of God.

Lastly, the minister may improve the present occasion to exhort those about the sick person, to consider their own mortality, to return to the Lord and make peace with him; in health to prepare for sickness, death, and judgment; and all the days of their appointed time, so to wait until their change come, that when Christ, who is our life, shall appear, they may appear with him in glory.

Concerning Burial of the Dead.

WHEN any person departeth this life, let the dead body, upon the day of burial, be decently attended from the house to the place appointed for publick burial, and there immediately interred, without

any ceremony.

And because the customs of kneeling down, and praying by, or towards the dead corpse, and other such usages, in the place where it lies, before it be carried to burial, are superstitious; and for that, praying, reading, and singing, both in going to, and at the grave, have been grossy abused, are no way beneficial to the dead, and have proved many ways hurtful to the living, therefore let all such things be laid aside.

Howbeit, we judge it very convenient, that the christian friends, which accompany the dead body to the place appointed for publick burial, do apply themselves to meditations, and conferences suitable to the occasion: and that the minister, as upon other occasions, so at this time, if he be present, may put them in remembrance of their duty.

That this shall not extend to deny any civil respects or deferences at the burial, suitable to the rank and condition of the party deceased,

while he was living.

Concerning publick folemn Fasting.

WHEN fome great and notable judgments are either inflicted upon a people, or apparently imminent, or by fome extraordinary provocations notoriously deserved; as also, when some special blessing is to be sought and obtained, publick solemn fasting (which is to continue the whole day) is a duty that God expecteth from that nation or people.

A religious fast requires total abstinence, not only from all food, (unless bodily weakness do manifestly disable from holding out till the fast be ended, in which case, somewhat may be taken, yet very sparingly, to support nature, when ready to faint) but also from all worldly labour, discourses and thoughts, and from all bodily delights,

(although

(although at other times lawful) rich apparel, ornaments, and fuch like, during the fast; and much more from whatever is, in the nature or use, scandalous and offensive, as gaudish attire, lascivious habits and gestures, and other vanities of either sex; which we recommend to all ministers, in their places, diligently and zealously to reprove, as at other times, so especially at a fast, without respect of persons, as there shall be occasion.

Before the publick meeting, each family and person apart are privately to use all religious care to prepare their hearts to such solemn

work, and to be early at the congregation.

So large a portion of the day, as conveniently may be, is to be fpent in publick reading and preaching of the word, with finging of pfalms, fit to quicken affections suitable to such a duty, but especially

in prayer, to this or the like effect:

"Giving glory to the great majefty of God, the creator, preferver, "and supreme ruler of all the world, the better to affect us thereby "with an holy reverence and awe of him; acknowledging his mani-" fold, great, and tender mercies, especially to the church and nation, "the more effectually to foften and abase our hearts before him; "humbly confessing of fins of all forts, with their several aggrava-"tions; justifying God's righteous judgments, as being far less than " our fins do deferve; yet humbly and earneftly imploring his mercy " and grace for ourselves, the church and nation, for our king, and " all in authority, and for all others for whom we are bound to pray, " (according as the prefent exigence requireth) with more special "importunity and enlargement than at other times; applying, by " faith, the promises and goodness of God, for pardon, help, and " deliverance from the evils felt, feared, or deferved; and for obtain-"ing the bleffings which we need and expect; together with a giving " up of ourfelves wholly and for ever unto the Lord."

In all these, the ministers, who are the mouths of the people unto God, ought so to speak from their hearts, upon serious and thorough premeditation of them, that both themselves and the people may be much affected, and even melted thereby; especially with sorrow for their sins, that it may be indeed a day of deep humiliation and afflict-

ing of the foul.

Special choice is to be made of fuch scriptures to be read, and of such texts for preaching, as may best work the hearts of the hearers to the special business of the day, and most dispose them to humiliation and repentance; insisting most on those particulars, which each minister's observation and experience tells him, are most conducing to the edification and reformation of that congregation to which he preacheth.

Before the close of the publick duties, the minister is, in his own and the people's names, to engage his and their hearts to be the Lord's, with professed purpose and resolution to reform whatever is

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amis amongst them, and more particularly such fins as they have been more remarkably guilty of; and, to draw nearer unto God, and to walk more closely and faithfully with him in new obedience, than ever before.

He is also to admonish the people with all importunity, that the work of that day doth not end with the publick duties of it, but that they are so to improve the remainder of the day, and of their whole life, in reinforcing upon themselves and their families in private, all those godly affections and resolutions which they professed in publick, as that they may be settled in their hearts for ever, and themselves may more sensibly find, that God hath sinelt a sweet savour in Christ from their performances, and is pacified towards them, by answers of grace, in pardoning of sin, in removing of judgments, in averting or preventing of plagues, and in conferring of blessings, suitable to the conditions and prayers of his people by Jesus Christ.

Besides solemn and general fasts enjoined by authority, we judge, that at other times congregations may keep days of fasting, as Divine Providence shall administer unto them special occasions. And also, that families may do the same, so it be not on days wherein the congregation to which they do belong, is to meet for fasting, or other

publick duties of worship.

Concerning the Observation of Days of publick Thanksgiving.

WHEN any fuch day is to be kept, let notice be given of it, and of the occasion thereof, some convenient time before, that the people

may the better prepare themselves thereunto.

The day being come, and the congregation (after private preparations) being affembled, the minister is to begin with a word of exhortation, to stir up the people to the duty for which they are met, and with a short prayer for God's affistance and blessing, (as at other conventions for publick worship) according to the particular occasion of their meeting.

Let him then make some pithy narration of the deliverance obtained, or mercy received, or of whatever hath occasioned that assembling of the congregation, that all may better understand it, or be minded

of it, and more affected with it.

And because singing of plalms is of all other the most proper ordinance for expressing of joy and thanksgiving, let some pertinent plalm or plalms be sung for that purpose, before or after the reading of some portion of the word, suitable to the present business.

Then let the minister who is to preach, proceed to further exhortation and prayer before his sermon, with special reference to the present work: after which, let him preach upon some text of scripture

pertinent to the occasion.

The fermon ended, let him not only pray, as at other time after preaching is directed, with remembrance of the necessities of the church.

church, king, and state, (if before the sermon they were omitted) but enlarge himself in due and solemn thanksgiving for former mercies and deliverances, but more especially for that which at the present calls them together to give thanks: with humble petition for the continuance and renewing of God's wonted mercies, as need shall be, and for sanctifying grace to make a right use thereof. And so, having sung another psalm suitable to the mercy, let him dismiss the congregation with a blessing, that they may have some convenient time for their repast and refreshment.

But the minister (before their dismission) is solemnly to admonish them, to beware of all excess and riot, tending to gluttony or drunkenness, and much more of these sins themselves, in their eating and refreshing; and to take care that their mirth and rejoicing be not carnal, but spiritual, which may make God's praise to be glorious, and themselves humble and sober; and that both their seeding and rejoicing may render them more cheerful and enlarged, further to celebrate his praises in the midst of the congregation, when they return unto it, in the remaining part of that day.

When the congregation shall be again affembled, the like course in praying, reading, preaching, singing of psalms, and offering up of more praise and thanksgiving, that is before directed for the morning, is to be renewed and continued so far as the time will give leave.

At one or both of the publick meetings that day, a collection is to be made for the poor, (and in the like manner upon the day of publick humiliation) that their loins may bless us, and rejoice the more with us. And the people are to be exhorted, at the end of the latter meeting, to spend the residue of that day in holy duties, and testifications of christian love and charity one towards another, and of rejoicing more and more in the Lord, as becometh those who make the joy of the Lord their strength.

Of Singing of Pfalms.

It is the duty of christians to praise God publickly, by singing of psalms together in the congregation, and also privately in the family.

In finging of pfalms the voice is to be tunably and gravely ordered; but the chief must be, to sing with understanding, and with grace in the heart, making melody unto the Lord.

That the whole congregation may join herein, every one that can read is to have a psalm-book; and all others, not disabled by age, or otherwise, are to be exhorted to learn to read. But for the present, where many in the congregation cannot read, it is convenient that the minister, or some other fit person appointed by him, and the other ruling officers, do read the psalm line by line, before the singing thereof.

An APPENDIX, touching Days and Places of publick Worship.

THERE is no day commanded in scripture to be kept holy under the gospel, but the Lord's day, which is the christian sabbath.

Festival days, vulgarly called holy days, having no warrant in the

word of God, are not to be continued.

Nevertheless, it is lawful and necessary, upon special emergent occasions, to separate a day or days for publick fasting or thanksgiving, as the several eminent and extraordinary dispensations of God's pro-

vidence shall administer cause and opportunity to his people.

As no place is capable of any holiness, under pretence of whatsoever dedication or consecration; so neither is it subject to such pollution by any superstition formerly used, and now laid aside, as may render it unlawful or inconvenient for christians to meet together therein for the publick worship of God. And therefore we hold it requisite, that the places of publick assembling for worship amongstus, should be continued, and employed to that use.

THE CONTENTS OF THE DIRECTORY FOR THE PUBLICK WORSHIP OF GOD.

THE preface. Of the affembling of the congregation. Of publick reading of the holy scripture. Of publick prayer before fermon. Of preaching of the word. Of prayer after the sermon. Of the facrament of baptism. Of the facrament of the Lord's Supper. Of the fanctification of the Lord's day. Of the folemnization of marriage. Of the visitation of the sick. Of burial of the dead. Of publick folemn fasting. Of the observation of days of publick thanksgiving. Of finging of pfalms. An APPENDIX, touching days and places of publick worship.

No. VIII.

The Form of PRESBYTERIAL CHURCH GOVERNMENT.

Agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster; examined and approved, anno 1645, by the GENERAL ASSEMBLY of the CHURCH of SCOTLAND, &c.

THE PREFACE.

JESUS CHRIST, upon whose shoulders the government is, whose name is called wonderful, counsellor, the mighty God, the everlasting Father, the prince of peace, hof the increase of whose government and peace there shall be no end, who sits upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to order it, and to establish it with judgment and justice, from henceforth even for ever, having all power given unto him even in heaven and in earth by the Father, who raised him from the dead, and set him at his own right hand, far above all principalities and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come, and put all things under his feet, and gave him to be the head over all things to the church, which is his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all; he being ascended up far above all heavens, that he might fill all things, received gifts for his church, and gave offices necessary for the edification of his church, and perfecting of his saints.

Of the Church.

THERE is one general church visible held forth in the New Testament, 1 Cor. xii. 12, 13, 28, together with the rest of the chapter.

The ministry, oracles, and ordinances of the New Testament, are given by Jesus Christ to the general church visible, for the gathering and perfecting of it in this life, until his second coming, I Cor. xii. 28. Eph. iv. 4, 5, compared with ver. 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, of the same chapter.

Particular visible churches, members of the general church, are also held forth in the New Testament, Gal. i. 21, 22. Rev. i. 4, 20, and Rev. ii. 1. Particular churches, in the primitive times, were made up of visible saints, viz. of such as, being of age, professed faith in Christ, and obedience unto Christ, according to the rules of faith and

life, taught by Christ and his apostles; and of their children, Acts ii. 38, 41. Acts ii. ver. last, compared with Acts v. 14. 1 Cor. i. 2, compared with 2 Cor. ix. 13. Acts ii. 39. 1 Cor. vii. 14. Rom. ix. 16, and so forward; Mark x. 14, compared with Matt. xix. 13, 14. Luke xviii. 15, 16.

Of the Officers of the Church.

THE officers which Christ hath appointed for the edification of his church, and the perfecting of the faints, are,

Some extraordinary, as apostles, evangelists, and prophets, which

are ceased.

Others ordinary and perpetual, as pastors, teachers, and other church governors, and deacons.

Paftors.

THE pastor is an ordinary and perpetual officer in the church. Jer. iii. 15, 16, 17; prophelying of the time of the gospel. 1 Pet. v. 2, 3, 4. Eph. iv. 11, 12, 13.

First, it belongs to his office,

To pray for and with his flock, as the mouth of the people unto God. Acts vi. 2, 3, 4. Acts xx. 36; where preaching and prayer are joined as several parts of the same office. James v. 14, 15. The office of the elder, that is, the pastor, is to pray for the sick, even in private, to which a blessing is especially promised; much more therefore ought he to perform this in the publick execution of his office, as a part thereof. 1 Cor. xiv. 15, 16.

To read the scripture publickly; for the proof of which,

- 1. That the priests and levites in the Jewish church were trusted with the publick reading of the word, as is proved, Deut. xxxi. 9, 10, 11. Neh. viii. 1, 2, 13.
- 2. That the ministers of the gospel have as ample a charge and commission to dispense the word, as well as other ordinances, as the priests and levites had under the law, proved, Isa. lxvi. 21, and Matt. xxiii. 34, where our Saviour intituleth the officers of the New Testament, whom he will send forth, by the same names of the teachers of the Old.

Which propositions prove, that therefore (the duty being of a moral nature) it followeth by just consequence, that the publick reading of the scriptures belongeth to the pastor's office.

To feed the flock, by preaching of the word, according to which he is to teach, convince, reprove, exhort, and comfort. 1 Tim. iii. 2. 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17. Tit. i. 9.

b Matt. xxviii. 18, 19, 20. Eph. i. 20. 21, 22, compared with Eph. iv. 8, 11, and Pfalm lxviii. 18.

To catechife, which is a plain laying down the first principles of the oracles of God, *Heb.* v. 12; or of the doctrine of Christ, and is a part of preaching.

To dispense other divine mysteries, I Cor. iv. 1, 2.

To administer the facraments, Matt. xxviii. 19, 20. Mark xvi. 15, 16. 1 Cor. xi. 23, 24, 25, compared with 1 Cor. x. 16.

To bless the people from God, Numb. vi. 23, 24, 25, 26, compared with Rev. xiv. 5, (where the same blessings, and persons from whom they come, are expressly mentioned) Isa. lxvi. 21, where, under the names of priests and levites, to be continued under the gospel, are meant evangelical pastors, who therefore are by office to bless the people, Deut. x. 8. 2 Cor. xiii. 14. Eph. i. 2.

To take care of the poor, Asts xi. 30. Asts iv. 34, 35, 36, 37.

Acts. vi. 2, 3, 4. 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2, 3, 4. Gal. ii. 9, 10.

And he hath also a ruling power over the flock as a pastor, I Tim. v. 17. Acts xx. 17, 28. 1 Thess. v. 12. Heb. xiii. 7, 17.

Teacher or Doctor.

THE scripture doth hold out the name and title of teacher, as well as of the pastor, I Cor. xii. 28. Eph. iv. 11.

Who is also a minister of the word as well as the pastor, and hath

power of administration of the facraments.

The Lord having given different gifts, and divers exercises according to these gifts, in the ministry of the word, Rom. xii. 6, 7, 8. 1 Cor. xii. 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, though these different gifts may meet in, and accordingly be exercised by one and the same minister, 1 Cor. xiv. 3. 2 Tim. iv. 2. Tit. i. 9; yet, where be several ministers in the same congregation, they may be designed to several employments, according to the different gifts in which each of them doth most excel. Rom. xii. 6, 7, 8. 1 Pet. iv. 10, 11. And the that doth more excel in exposition of scriptures, in teaching sound doctrine, and in convincing gainsayers, than he doth in application, and is accordingly employed therein, may be called a teacher, or doctor, (the places alledged by the notation of the word do prove the proposition) nevertheless, where is but one minister in a particular congregation, he is to perform so far as he is able the whole work of the ministry, as appeareth in 2 Tim. iv. 2. Tit. i. 9, before alledged, 1 Tim. vi. 2.

A teacher or doctor, is of most excellent use in schools and universities; as of old in the schools of the prophets, and at Jerusalem,

where Gamaliel and others taught as doctors.

Other Church Governors.

AS there were in the jewish church, elders of the people joined with the priests and levites in the government of the church, (as appeareth in 2 Chron. xix. 8, 9, 10.) so Christ, who hath instituted a government, and governors ecclesiastical in the church, hath furnished some vol. v.

in his church, beside the ministers of the word, with gifts for government, and with commission to execute the same when called thereunto, who are to join with the minister in the government of the church, Rom. xii. 7, 8. I Cor. xii. 28. Which officers reformed churches commonly call elders.

Deacons.

THE scripture doth hold out deacons as distinct officers in the

church. Phil. i. I. I Tim. iii. 8.

Whose office is perpetual. I Tim. iii. 8, to verse 15. Ass vi. 1, 2, 3, 4. To whose office it belongs not to preach the word, or administer the facraments, but to take special care in distributing to the necessities of the poor. Ass vi. 1, 2, 3, 4, and the verses following.

Of particular Congregations.

IT is lawful and expedient that there be fixed congregations, that is, a certain company of christians to meet in one assembly ordinarily for publick worship. When believers multiply to such a number that they cannot conveniently meet in one place, it is lawful and expedient that they should be divided into distinct and fixed congregations, for the better administration of such ordinances as belong unto them, and the discharge of mutual duties. I Cor. xiv. verse 26. Let all things be done unto edifying; and verses 33, and 40.

The ordinary way of dividing christians into distinct congregations, and most expedient for edification, is by the respective bounds of

their dwellings.

Ist. Because they who dwell together, being bound to all kind of moral duties one to another, have the better opportunity thereby to discharge them; which moral tie is perpetual, for Christ came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it, Deut. xv. 7, 11. Matt. xxii. 39. Matt. v. 17.

2dly. The communion of faints must be so ordered, as may stand with the most convenient use of the ordinances, and discharge of moral duties, without respect of persons. I Cor. xiv. 26. Let all things be done unto edifying. Heb. x. 24, 25. James ii. 1, 2.

3dly. The pastor and people must so nearly cohabit together, as that they may mutually perform their duties each to other with most

conveniency.

In this company some must be set apart to bear office.

Of the Officers of a particular Congregation.

FOR officers in a fingle congregation, there ought to be one at the least, both to labour in the word and doctrine, and to rule. Prov. xxix. 18. 1 Tim. v. 17. Heb. xiii. 7.

It is also requisite that there should be others to join in government Cor. xii. 28.

And likewise it is requisite that there should be others to take special care for the relief of the poor. Acts vi. 2, 3.

The number of each of which is to be proportioned according to

the condition of the congregation.

These officers are to meet together at convenient and set times, for the well ordering the affairs of that congregation, each according to his office.

It is most expedient that in these meetings, one whose office is to labour in the word and doctrine, do moderate in their proceedings. I Tim. v. 17.

Of the Ordinances in a particular Congregation.

The ordinances in a fingle congregation are, prayer, thankfgiving, and finging of pfalms; (1 Tim. ii. 1. 1 Cor. xiv. 15, 16.) the word read, (although there follow no immediate explication of what is read) the word expounded and applied, catechifing, the facraments administered, collection made for the poor, dismissing the people with a blessing.

Of Church Government, and the several Sorts of Assemblies for the same.

CHRIST hath instituted a government, and governors ecclesiastical in the church: to that purpose, the apostles did immediately receive the keys from the hand of Jesus Christ, and did use and exercise them in all the churches of the world, upon all occasions.

And Christ hath since continually furnished some in his church with gifts of government, and with commission to execute the same,

when called thereunto.

It is lawful and agreeable to the word of God, that the church be governed by feveral forts of affemblies, which are congregational, claffical, and fynodical.

Of the Power in common of all these Assemblies.

IT is lawful and agreeable to the word of God, that the feveral affemblies before-mentioned have power to convene, and call before them, any person within their several bounds, whom the ecclesiastical business which is before them doth concern; proved by *Matt. chap.* xviii.

They have power to hear and determine fuch causes and differences

as do orderly come before them.

It is lawful and agreeable to the word of God, that all the faid affemblies have some power to dispense church censures.

f 2

Of Congregational Assemblies, that is, the Meeting of the ruling Officers of a particular Congregation for the government thereof.

THE ruling officers of a particular congregation have power, authoritatively, to call before them any member of the congregation, as they shall see just occasion,

To enquire into the knowledge and spiritual estate of the several

members of the congregation.

To admonish and rebuke.

Which three branches are proved by Heb. xiii. 17. 1 Theff. v. 12, 13. Ezek. xxxiv. 4.

Authoritative suspension from the Lord's table of a person not yet cast out of the church, is agreeable to the scripture;

1/t. Because the ordinance itself must not be profaned.

2dly. Because we are charged to withdraw from those that walk

diforderly.

3dly. Because of the great sin and danger, both to him that comes unworthily, and also to the whole church. Matt. vii. 6. 2 Thess. iii. 6, 14, 15. 1 Cor. xi. 27, to the end of the chapter, compared with Jude, verse 23. 1 Tim. v. 22. And there was power and authority, under the Old Testament, to keep unclean persons from holy things, Levit. xiii. 5. Numb. ix. 7. 2 Chron. xxiii. 19.

The like power and authority, by way of analogy, continues under the New Testament.

The ruling officers of a particular congregation have power, authoratively, to suspend from the Lord's table a person, not yet cast out of the church.

1st. Because those who have authority to judge of, and admit such as are fit receive the facrament, have authority to keep back such as shall be found unworthy.

2dly. Because it is an ecclesiastical business of ordinary practice

belonging to that congregation.

When congregations are divided and fixed, they need all mutual help one from another, both in regard of their intrinfical weaknesses, and mutual dependence; as also, in regard of enemies from without.

Of Classical Assemblies.

THE scripture doth hold out a presbytery-in a church, both in the first epistle to Timothy, iv. 14. And in Acts xv. 2, 4, 6.

A prefbytery confifteth of ministers of the word, and such other publick officers as are agreeable to, and warranted by the word of God, to be church governors, to join with the ministers in the government of the church; as appeareth, Rom. xii. 7, 8. 1 Cor. xii. 28.

The

The scripture doth hold forth, that many particular congregations may be under one presbyterial government.

This proposition is proved by instances.

I. First. Of the church of Jerusalem, which consisted of more congregations than one, and all these congregations were under one presbyterial government.

This appeareth thus:

1: First. The church of Jerusalem consisted of more congregations

than one, as is manifest,

If. By the multitude of believers mentioned in divers places. Both before the dispersion of the believers there, by means of the persecution, (mentioned in the Asts of the Apostles, chap. viii. in the beginning thereof) witness, chap. i. verse 11. chap. ii. verses 41, 46, and 47, chap. iv. 4, chap. v. 14, chap. vi. of the same book of the Asts, verses 1, 7. And also after the dispersion, Asts ix. 31; xii. 24; and xxi. 20, of the same book.

2dly. By the many apostles and other preachers in the church of Jerusalem: and if there were but one congregation there then each apostle preached but seldom; which will not consist with thap.

vi. verse 2, of the same book of the Asts of the Apostles.

3dly. The diversity of languages amongst the believers, mentioned both in the second and sixth chapters of the Acts, doth argue more congregations than one in that church.

2. Secondly. All those congregations were under one presbyterial government; because, 1st, They were one church, Acts viii. 1, and chap. ii. 47, compared with chap. v. 11, chap. xii. 5, and chap. xv. 4, of the same book.

2dly. The elders of the church are mentioned, Acts xi. 30; xv. 4,

6, 22, and chap. xxi. 17, 18, of the same book.

3dly. The apostles did the ordinary acts of presbyters, as presbyters in that kirk; which proveth a presbyterial church before the

dispersion, Acts vi.

4thly, The several congregations in Jerusalem being one church, the elders of that church are mentioned as meeting together for acts of government, Acts xi. 30. Acts xv. 4, 6, 22, and chap. xxi. 17, 18, and so forward: which proves that those several congregations were under one presbyterial government.

And whether these congregations were fixed, or not fixed, in regard of officers or members, it is all one as to the truth of the

proposition.

Nor doth there appear any material difference betwixt the feveral congregations in Jerusalem, and the many congregations now in the ordinary condition of the church, as to the point of fixedness required of officers or members.

3. Thirdly.

3. Thirdly. Therefore the scripture doth hold forth, that many congregations may be under one presbyterial government.

II. Secondly. By the instance of the church of Ephesus; for

- I. That they were more congregations than one in the church of Ephefus, appears by Acts xx. 31, where is mention of Paul's continuance at Ephefus in preaching for the space of three years; and Acts xix. 18, 19, 20, where the special effect of the word is mentioned; and verse 10, and 17, of the same chapter, where is a distinction of Jews and Greeks; and 1 Cor. xvi. 8, 9, where is a reason of Paul's stay at Ephesus until pentecost; and verse 19, where is mention of a particular church in the house of Aquilla and Priscilla then at Ephesus; as appears, Acts xviii. 19, 24, 26. All which laid together doth prove, that the multitude of believers did make more congregations than one in the church of Ephesus.
- 2. That there were many elders over these many congregations, as one flock, appeareth Acts xx. 17, 25, 28, 30, 36, 37.
- 3. That these many congregations were one church, and that they were under one presbyterial government, appeareth Rev. ii. the first fix verses, joined with Acts xx. 17, 18.

Of Synodical Affemblies.

THE scripture doth hold out another fort of assemblies, for the government of the church, beside classical and congregational, all which we call synodical, Acts xv. Pastors and teachers, and other church governors, (as also other sit persons, when it shall be deemed expedient) are members of those assemblies which we call synodical, where they have a lawful calling thereunto.

Synodical affemblies may lawfully be of feveral forts, as provincial,

national, and œcumenical.

It is lawful and agreeable to the word of God, that there be a fubordination of congregational, classical, provincial, and national assemblies, for the government of the church.

OF THE ORDINATION OF MINISTERS.

UNDER the head of ordination of ministers is to be considered, either the doctrine of ordination, or the power of it.

Touching the Doctrine of Ordination.

No man ought to take upon him the office of a minister of the word, without a lawful calling. John iii. 27. Rom. x. 14, 15. Jer. xiv. 14. Heb. v. 4.

Ordination is always to be continued in the church. Tit. i. 5.

1 Tim. v. 21, 22.

Ordination

Ordination is the folemn setting apart of a person to some publick church office. Numb. viii. 10, 11, 14, 19, 22. Als vi. 3, 5, 6.

Every minister of the word is to be ordained by imposition of hands, and prayer, with fasting, by those preaching presbyters, to whom it doth belong. I Tim. v. 22. Acts iv. 23, and Acts xiii. 3.

It is agreeable to the word of God, and very expedient, that such as are to be ordained ministers, be designed to some particular church, or other ministerial charge. Ads xiv. 23. Tit. i. 5. Ads xx. 17, 28.

He that is to be ordained minister, must be duly qualified, both for life and ministerial abilities, according to the rules of the Apostle, 1 Tim. iii. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and Tit. i. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

He is to be examined and approved by those by whom he is to be ordained. I Tim. iii. 7, 10. and v. 22.

No man is to be ordained a minister for a particular congregation if they of that congregation can shew just cause of exception against him. I Tim. iii. 2. Tit. i. 7.

Touching the Power of Ordination.

ORDINATION is the act of a presbytery, 1 Tim. iv. 14. The power of ordering the whole work of ordination, is in the whole presbytery, which when it is over more congregations than one, whether those congregations be fixed or not fixed, in regard of officers or members, it is indifferent, as to the point of ordination. I Tim. iv. 14.

It is very requifite that no fingle congregation, that can conveniently affociate, do assume to itself all and sole power in ordination;

1. Because there is no example in scripture, that any single congregation, which might conveniently associate, did assume to itself all and sole power in ordination; neither is there any rule which may warrant such a practice.

2. Because there is in scripture, example of an ordination in a presbytery over divers congregations: as in the church of Jerusalem, where were many congregations, these many congregations were under one presbytery, and this presbytery did ordain.

The preaching prefbyters orderly affociated, either in cities or neighbouring villages, are those to whom the imposition of hands doth appertain, for those congregations within their bounds respectively.

CONCERNING THE DOCTRINAL PART OF ORDINATION OF MINISTERS.

1. NO man ought to take upon him the office of a minister of the word, without a lawful calling. John iii. 27. Rom. x. 14, 15. Fer. xiv. 14. Heb. v. 4.

- 2. Ordination is always to be continued in the church. Tit. i. 5. 1 Tim. v. 21, 22.
- 3. Ordination is the folemn fetting apart of a person to some publick church office. Numb. viii. 10, 11, 14, 19, 22. Acts vi. 3, 5, 6.
- 4. Every minister of the word is to be ordained by imposition of hands and prayer, with fasting, by those preaching presbyters to whom it doth belong. 1 Tim. v. 22. Acts xiv. 23. Acts xiii. 3.
- 5. The power of ordering the whole work of ordination is in the whole prefbytery, which, when it is over more congregations than one, whether those congregations be fixed or not fixed, in regard of officers or members, it is indifferent as to the point of ordination, 1 Tim. iv. 14.
- 6. It is agreeable to the word, and very expedient, that such as are to be ordained ministers, be designed to some particular church, or other ministerial charge. Als xiv. 23. Tit. i. 5. Als xx. 17, 28.
- 7. He that is to be ordained minister, must be duly qualified, both for life and ministerial abilities, according to the rules of the apostle, I Tim. iii. 2. 3, 4, 5, 6. Tit. i. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.
- 8. He is to be examined, and approved of by those by whom he is to be ordained. 1 Tim. iii. 7, 10. 1. Tim. v. 22.
- 9. No man is to be ordained a minister for a particular congregation, if they of that congregation can shew just cause of exception against him. I Tim. iii. 2. Tit. i. 7.
- 10. Preaching prefbyters orderly affociated, either in cities, or neighbouring villages, are those to whom the imposition of hands do appertain, for those congregations within their bounds respectively. I Tim. iv. 14.
- 11. In extraordinary cases, something extraordinary may be done, until a settled order may be had, yet keeping as near as possible may be to the rule. 2 Chron. xxix. 34, 35, 36. 2 Chron. xxx. 2, 3, 4, 5.
- 12. There is at this time, (as we humbly conceive) an extraordinary occasion for a way of ordination for the present supply of ministers.

The Directory for the Ordination of Ministers.

IT being manifest, by the word of God, that no man ought to take upon him the office of a minister of the gospel, until he be lawfully called and ordained thereunto; and that the work of ordination is to be performed with all due care, wisdom; gravity, and solemnity; we humbly tender these directions as requisite to be observed.

1. He that is to be ordained, being either nominated by the people, or otherwise commended to the presbytery for any place, must address

address himself to the presbytery, and bring with him a testimonial of his taking the covenant of the three kingdoms; of his diligence and proficiency in his studies; what degrees he hath taken in the university, and what hath been the time of his abode there; and withal of his age, which is to be twenty-four years; but especially of his life and conversation.

2. Which being confidered by the presbytery, they are to proceed, to enquire touching the grace of God in him, and whether he be of such holiness of life as is requisite in a minister of the gospel; and to examine him touching his learning and sufficiency, and touching the evidences of his calling to the holy ministry, and in particular, his fair and direct calling to that place.

THE RULES FOR EXAMINATION ARE THESE.

1. That the party examined be dealt withal in a brotherly way, with mildness of spirit, and with special respect to the gravity, modesty, and quality of every one.

2. He shall be examined touching his skill in the original tongues, and his trial to be made by reading the Hebrew and Greek Testaments, and rendering some portion of some into Latin; and if he be defective in them, enquiry shall be made more strictly after his other learning, and

whether he hath skill in logick and philosophy.

- 3. What authors in divinity he hath read, and is best acquainted with. And trial shall be made in his knowledge of the grounds of religion, and of his ability to defend the orthodox doctrine contained in them, against all unsound and erroneous opinions, especially those of the present age; of his skill in the sense and meaning of such places of scripture as shall be proposed unto him, in cases of conscience, and in the chronology of the scripture, and the ecclesiastical history.
- 4. If he hath not before preached in publick, with approbation of such as are able to judge, he shall, at a competent time assigned him, expound before the presbytery such a place of scripture as shall be given him.
- 5. He shall also, within a competent time, frame a discourse in Latin, upon such a common-place or controversy in divinity, as shall be assigned him, and exhibit to the presbytery such theses as express the sum thereof, and maintain a dispute upon them.
- 6. He shall preach before the people, the presbytery, or some of the ministry of the word appointed by them, being present.
- 7. The proportion of his zifts, in relation to the place unto which he is called, shall be considered.
- 8. Beside the trial of his gifts in preaching, he shall undergo an examination in the premises two several days, and more, if the presbytery shall judge it necessary.

9. And

- 9. And as for him that hath formerly been ordained a minister, and is to be removed to another charge, he shall bring a testimonial of his ordination, and of his abilities and conversation, whereupon his sitness for that place shall be tried by his preaching there, (if it shall be judged necessary) by a further examination of him.
- 3. In all which he being approved, he is to be fent to the church, where he is to ferve, there to preach three feveral days, and to converse with the people, that they may have trial of his gifts for their edification, and may have time and occasion to enquire into, and the better to know his life and conversation.
- 4. In the last of these three days appointed for the trial of his gists in preaching, there shall be sent from the presbytery to the congregation, a publick intimation in writing, which shall be publickly read before the people, and after assixed to the church door, to signify that such a day, a competent number of the members of that congregation, nominated by themselves, shall appear before the presbytery, to give their consent and approbation to such a man to be their minister; or otherwise to put in, with all christian discretion and meekness, what exceptions they have against him; and if, upon the day appointed, there be no just exception against him, but the people give their consent, then the presbytery shall proceed to ordination.
- 5. Upon the day appointed for ordination, which is to be performed in that church, where he that is to be ordained is to serve, a solemn fast shall be kept by the congregation, that they may the more earnestly join in prayer for a blessing upon the ordinance of Christ, and the labours of his servant for their good. The presbytery shall come to the place, or at least three or four ministers of the word shall be sent thither from the presbytery; of which one, appointed by the presbytery, shall preach to the people, concerning the office and duty of ministers of Christ, and how the people ought to receive them for their work's sake:
- 6. After the fermon, the minister who hath preached shall, in the face of the congregation, demand of him who is now to be ordained, concerning his faith in Christ Jesus, and his persuasion of the truth of the reformed religion according to the scripture; his sincere intentions and ends in desiring to enter into this calling; his diligence in prayer, reading, meditation, preaching, ministring the facraments, discipline, and doing all ministerial duties towards his charge; his zeal and faithfulness in maintaining the truth of the gospel, and unity of the church against error and schism; his care that himself and his family may be unblameable, and examples to the flock; his willingness and humility, in meekness of spirit, to submit unto the admonitions of his brethren and discipline of the church; and his resolution to continue in his duty against all trouble and persecution.

7. In all which having declared himself, professed his willingness and promised his endeavours, by the help of God; the minister likewise shall demand of the people, concerning their willingness to receive and acknowledge him as the minister of Christ; and to obey, and submit unto him, as having rule over them in the Lord; and to maintain, encourage, and affist him in all the parts of his office.

8. Which being mutually promifed by the people, the prefbytery, or the ministers sent from them for ordination, shall solemnly set him apart to the office and work of the ministry, by laying their hands on him, which is to be accompanied with a short prayer or blessing, to this effect:

"Thankfully acknowledging the great mercy of God, in fending Jesus Christ for the redemption of his people; and for his ascension to the right hand of God the Father, and thence pouring out his spirit, and giving gifts to men, apostles, evangelists, prophets, pastors, and teachers, for the gathering and building up of his church; and for fitting and inclining this man to this great work; to intreat him to fit him with his Holy Spirit, to give him, (who in his name we thus set apart to this holy service) to fulfil the work of his ministry in all things, that he may both save-himself, and his people committed to his charge."

9. This, or the like form of prayer and bleffing being ended, let the minister who preached, briefly exhort him, to consider of the greatness of his office and work, the danger of negligence both to himself and his people, the blefsing which will accompany his faithfulness in this life, and that to come; and withal exhort the people to carry themselves to him, as to their minister in the Lord, according to their solemn promise made before; and so by prayer commending both him and his slock to the grace of God, after singing of a psalm, let the assembly be dismissed with a blefsing.

10. If a minister be designed to a congregation, who hath been formerly ordained presbyter, according to the form or ordination which hath been in the church of England, which we hold for substance to be valid, and not to be disclaimed by any who have received it; then there being a cautious proceeding in matters of examination, let him be admitted without any new ordination.

or in any other reformed church, be defigned to another congregation in England, he is to bring from that church to the prefbytery here, within which that congregation is, a fufficient testimonial of his ordination, of his life and conversation while he lived with them, and of the causes of his removal; and to undergo such a trial of his sitness and sufficiency, and to have the same course held with him in other particulars, as is set down in the rule immediately going before, touching examination and admission.

- 12. That records be carefully kept in the feveral presbyteries, of the names of the persons ordained, with their testimonials, the time and place of their ordination, of the presbyters who did impose hands upon them, and of the charge to which they are appointed.
- 13. That no money or gift of what kind foever shall be received from the person to be ordained, or from any on his behalf, for ordination, or ought else belonging to it, by any of the presbytery, or any appertaining to any of them, upon what presence soever.
 - Thus far of ordinary rules and course of ordination in the ordinary way; that which concerns the extraordinary way, requisite to be now practised, followeth.
- 1. In these present exigencies, while we cannot have any presbyteries formed up to their whole power and work, and that many ministers are to be ordained for the service of the armies and navy, and to many congregations where there is no minister at all; and where (by teason of the publick troubles) the people cannot either themselves enquire, and find out one who may be a faithful minister for them, or have any with fafety fent unto them, for fuch a folemn trial as was before mentioned in the ordinary rules, especially when there can be no presbytery near unto them, to whom they may address themfelves, or which may come or fend to them a fit man to be ordained in that congregation, and for that people: and yet, notwithstanding, it is requifite that ministers be ordained for them, by some, who, being fet apart theinfelves for the work of the ministry, have power to join in the fetting apart others who are found fit and worthy. those cases, until, by God's bleffing, the aforesaid difficulties may be in fome good measure removed, let some godly ministers in or about the city of London, be defigned by publick authority, who, being affociated, may ordain ministers for the city and the vicinity, keeping as near to the ordinary rules forementioned as possibly they may; and let this affociation be for no other intent or purpose but only for the work of ordination.
- 2. Let the like affociation be made by the fame authority in great towns, and the neighbouring parishes in the several counties, which are at the present quiet and undisturbed, to do the like for the parts adjacent.
- 3. Let fuch as are chosen, or appointed for the service of the armies or navy, be ordained as aforesaid, by the associated ministers of London, or some others in the country.
- 4. Let them do the like when any man shall duly and lawfully be recommended to them for the ministry of any congregation, who cannot enjoy liberty to have a trial of his parts and abilities, and desire the help of such ministers so affociated, for the better furnishing of them with such a person, as by them shall be judged sit for the service of that church and people.

THE CONTENTS OF THE FORM OF PRESBYTERIAL CHURCH GOVERNMENT.

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No. IX.

The Assemblies Declaration of the Falsehood and Forgery of a lying scandalous Pamphlet, put forth under the Name of their Reverend Brother Master Alexander Henderson, after his Death.

THE general affembly of this kirk having seen a printed paper, intitled, The Declaration of Mr. Alexander Henderson, principal minister of the word of God at Edinburgh, and chief commissioner for the kirk of Scotland to the parliament and synod of England, made upon his death-bed; and taking into their serious consideration how many gross lies and impudent calumnies are therein contained; out of the tender respect which they do bear to his name, (which ought to be very precious to them and all posterity, for his faithful service in the great

work of reformation in these kingdoms, wherein the Lord was pleased to make him eminently instrumental;) and lest through the malice of some, and ignorance of others, the said pamphlet should gain belief among the weaker sort, they have thought sit to make known and declare,

concerning the fame, as followeth:

That after due fearch and trial, they do find that their worthy brother Master Alexander Henderson did, from the time of his coming from London to Newcastle, till the last moment of his departure out of this life, upon all occasions manifest the constancy of his judgment touching the work of reformation in these kingdoms; namely, in all his discourses and conferences with his Majesty, and with his brethren, who were employed with him in the fame trust at Newcastle: in his letters to the commissioners at London, and particularly in his last discourse to his Majesty, at his departing from Newcastle, being very weak, and greatly decayed in his natural strength. When he was come from Newcastle by sea to this kingdom, he was in such a weak, worn, and fail'd condition, as it was evident to all who faw him, that he was not able to frame any fuch declaration: for he was fo fpent, that he died within eight days after his arrival; and all that he was able to speak in that time, did clearly shew his judgment of, and affection to the work of reformation, and cause of God, to be every way the same then that it was in the beginning and progress thereof; as divers reverend brethren, who visited him, have declared to this assembly, and particularly two brethren who constantly attended him from the time he came home, till his breath expired. A further testimony may be brought from a short confession of faith under his hand, found amongst his papers, which is expressed as his last words, wherein, among other mercies, he declareth himself most of all obliged to the care and goodness of God, for calling him to believe the promises of the gospel, and for exalting him to be a preacher of them to others; and to be a willing, though a weak instrument in this great and wonderful work of reformation, which he earnestly beseeched the Lord to bring to a happy conclusion. Other reasons may be added from the levity of the style, and manifest absurdities contained in that paper. Upon consideration of all which, this affembly doth condemn the faid pamphlet as forged, scandalous and false. And further declare the author and contriver of the same, to be vord of charity and a good conscience, and A GROSS LIAR and calumniator, led by the spirit of the accuser of the brethren."

August 7, 1648. Ante meridiem. Sess. 31.

No. X.

A Confession of Faith of Seven Congregations, or Churches of Christ in London, which are common y but unjustly called Anabaptists; published for the Vindication of the Truth, and Information of the Ignorant; likewise for the taking off those Aspersions, which are frequently, both in Pulpit and Print, unjustly cast upon them. Printed at London, Anno 1646.

I

THE Lord our God is but one God, whose subsistence is in himself; whose essence cannot be comprehended by any but himself; who only hath immortality, dwelling in the light, which no man can approach unto; who is in himself most holy, every way infinite, in greatness, wisdom, power, love; merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth: who giveth being, moving, and preservation to all creatures.

1 Cor. viii. 6. Isa. xliv. 6, and xlvi. 9. Exod. iii. 14. 1 Tim. vi. 16. Isa. xliii. 15. Psalm cxlvii. 5. Deut. xxxii. 3. Job xxxvi. 5. Jer. x. 12. Exod. xxxiv. 6, 7. Acts xvii. 28. Rom. xi. 36.

II.

In this divine and infinite Being there is the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit; each having the whole divine Effence, yet the Effence undivided; all infinite without any beginning, therefore but one God; who is not to be divided in nature, and being, but diffinguished by several peculiar relative properties.

1 Cor. i. 3. John i. 1; and xv. 26. Exod. iii. 14. 1 Cor. viii. 6.

III.

God hath decreed in himself, before the world was, concerning all things, whether necessary, accidental, or voluntary, with all the circumstances of them, to work, dispose, and bring about all things according to the counsel of his own will, to his glory: (yet without being the author of fin, or having fellowship with any therein) in which appears his wisdom in disposing all things, unchangeableness, power, and saithfulness in accomplishing his decree: and God hath, before the foundation of the world, fore-ordained some men to eternal life, through Jesus Christ, to the praise and glory of his grace: leaving the rest in their fin to their just condemnation, to the praise of his justice.

Isa. xlvi. 10. Eph. i. 11. Rom. xi. 33. Psalm xxxiii. 15; cxv. 3; cxxxv. 6; and cxiiv. 1 Sam. x. 9, 26. Prov. xvi. 4, 33; and xxi. 6. Exod. xxi. 13. Isa. xlv. 7. Matt. vi. 28, 30. Col. i. 16, 17. Numb. xxiii. 19, 20. Rom. iii, 4. Jer. x. 10; xiv. 22. Eph. i. 4, 5. Jude 4, 6.

IV.

In the beginning God made all things very good; created man after his own image, filled with all meet perfection of nature, and free from all fin; but long he abode not in this honour; Satan using the subtlety of the serpent to seduce first Eve, then by her seducing Adam; who, without any compulsion, in eating the forbidden fruit, transgressed the command of God, and fell, whereby death came upon all his posterity; who now are conceived in sin, and by nature the children of wrath, the servants of sin, the subjects of death, and other miseries in this world, and for ever, unless the Lord Jesus Christ set them free.

Gen. i. 1; and iii. 1, 4, 5. Col. i. 16. Isa. xlv. 12. 1 Cor. xv. 45, 46. Eccles. vii. 29. 2 Cor. xi. 3. 1 Tim. ii. 14. Gal. iii. 22. Rom. v. 12; vi. 22; and xviii. 19. Eph. ii. 3.

V.

God, in his infinite power and wisdom, doth dispose all things to the end for which they were created; that neither good nor evil befals any by chance, or without his providence; and that whatsoever befals the elect, is by his appointment, for his glory, and their good.

Job xxxviii, 11. Ifa. xlvi. 10, 11. Ecclef. iii. 14. Mark x. 29, 30. Exod. xxi. 13. Prov. xvi. 33. Rom. viii. 28.

VI.

All the elect, being loved of God with an everlasting love, are redeemed, quickened, and saved, not by themselves, nor their own works, lest any man should boast, but only and wholly by God, of his free grace and mercy, through Jesus Christ, who is made unto us by God, wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption, and all in all, that he that rejoiceth, might rejoice in the Lord.

Jer. xxiii. 6, and xxxi. 2. Eph. i. 3, 7; and ii. 8, 9. 1 Theff. v. 9. Acts xiii. 38. 2 Cor. v. 21. Jer. ix. 23, 24. 1 Cor. i. 30, 31.

VII.

And this is life eternal, that we might know him the only true God, and Jefus Christ whom he hath sent. And on the contrary, the Lord will render vengeance, in flaming fire, to them that know not God, and obey not the gospel of Jesus Christ.

John vi. 36; and xvii, 3. Heb. v. 9. 1 Theff. i. 8.

VIII.

The rule of this knowledge, faith, and obedience, concerning the worthip of ood, in which is contained the whole duty of man, is (not men's laws, or unwritten traditions, but) only the word of God contained in the holy scriptures; in which is plainly recorded whatfoever

foever is needful for us to know, believe, and practife; which are the only rule of holiness and obedience for all faints, at all times, in all places to be observed.

Col. ii. 23. Matt. xv. 9, 6. John v. 39. 2 Tim. iii. 15, 16, 17. Ifa. viii. 20. Gal. i. 8, 9. Acts iii. 22, 23.

IX.

The Lord Jesus Christ, of whom Moses and the prophets wrote, the apostles preached, he is the Son of God, the brightness of his glory, Sc. by whom he made the world; who upholdeth and governeth all things that he hath made; who also when the fullness of time was come, was made of a woman, of the tribe of Judah, of the seed of Abraham and David; to wit, of the virgin Mary, the Holy Spirit coming down upon her, the power of the most High over-schadowing her; and he was also tempted as we are, yet without sin.

Gen. iii. 15; xxii. 18; and xlix. 9, 10. Dan vii. 13; and ix. 24, &c. Prov. viii. 23. John i. 1, 2, 3. Heb. i. 8; ii. 16; iv. 15; and vii. 14. Gal. iv. 4. Rev. v. 5. Rom. i. 3; and ix. 10. Matt. i. 16; Luke iii. 23, 26. Ifa. liii. 3, 4, 5.

X.

Jefus Christ is made the mediator of the new and everlasting covenant of grace between God and man, ever to be perfectly and fully the prophet, priest, and king of the church of God for evermore.

1 Tim. ii. 5. Heb. ix. 15. John xiv. 6. Ifa. ix. 6, 7.

XI.

Unto this office he was appointed by God from everlasting; and in respect of his manhood, from the womb called, separated, and anointed most fully and abundantly with all gifts necessary, God having without measure poured out his spirit upon him.

Prov. viii. 23. Ifa. xi. 2, 3, 4, 5; xlii. 6; xlix. 15; and lxi. 1, 2. Luke iv. 17, 22. John i. 14, 26; and iii. 34.

XII.

Concerning his mediatorship, the scripture holds forth Christ's call to his office; for none takes this honour upon him, but he that is called of God as was Aaron, it being an action of God, whereby a special promise being made, he ordains his Son to this office; which promise is, that Christ should be made a facrifice for sin; that he should see his seed, and prolong his days, and the pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in his hand; all of mere free and absolute grace towards God's elect, and without any condition foreseen in them to procure it.

Heb. v. 4, 5, 6. Ifa. lii. 10, 11. John iii. 16. Rom. viii. 32.

XIII. This

XIII.

This office to be mediator, that is, to be prophet, priest, and king of the church of God, is fo proper to Christ, that neither in whole, or any part thereof, it cannot be transferred from him to any other.

1 Tim. ii. 5. Heb. vii. 24. Dan. vii. 14. Acts iv. 12. Luke i. 33. John xiv. 6.

XIV.

This office to which Christ is called, is threefold; a prophet, priest, and king: this number and order of offices is necessary, for in respect of our ignorance, we stand in need of his prophetical office; and in respect of our great alienation from God, we need his priestly office to reconcile us; and in respect of our averseness and utter inability to return to God, we need his kingly office, to convince, subdue, draw, uphold and preserve us to his heavenly kingdom.

Deut. viii. 15. Acts iii. 22, 23; and xxvi. 18. Heb. iii. 3; and iv. 14, 15. Pfalm ii. 6. 2 Cor. v. 20. Col. i. 21. John xvi. 8. Pfalm cx, 3. Cant. i. 3. John vi. 44. Phil. iv. 13. 2 Tim. iv. 18.

XV.

Concerning the prophecy of Christ, it is that whereby he hath revealed the will of God, whatsoever is needful for his servants to know and obey; and therefore he is called not only a prophet and doctor, and the apostle of our profession, and the angel of the covenant, but also the very wisdom of God, in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, who for ever continueth revealing the same truth of the gospel to his people.

John i. 18; xii. 49, 50; and xvii. 8. Matt. xxiii. 10. Deut. xviii. 15. Heb iii. 1. Gal. iii. 1. 1 Cor. i. 24. Col. ii. 3. Mal. iii. 2.

XVI.

That he might be a prophet every way compleat, it was necessary he should be God, and also that he should be man: for unless he had been God, he could never have perfectly understood the will of God; and unless he had been man, he could not suitably have unfelded it in his own person to men.

John i. 18. Acts iii. 22. Deut. xviii. 15. Heb. i. 1.

That Jesus Christ is God, is avonderful clearly expressed in the Scriptures. He is called the mighty God, Ha. ix. 6. That word was God, John i. 1. Christ, who is God over all, Rom. ix. 5. God manifested in the stelle, I Tim. iii 16. The same is very God, John v. 20. He is the first, Rev. i. 8. He gives being to all twings, and without him was nothing made, John i. 2. He forgiveth sins, Matt. ix. 6. He is before Abraham, John viii. 58. He was and is, and ever will be the same, Heb. xiii. 8. He is always with his to the end of the world, Matt. xxviii. 20. Which could not be said of Jesus Christ, if he were not God. And to the Son he saith, Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever, Heb. i. 8. John i. 18.

Also, Christ is not only perfectly God, but perfect man, made of a woman, Gal. iv. 4. Made of the seed of David, Rom. i. 3. Coming out of the loins of David, Acts ii. 30. Of Jesse and Judah, Acts xiii. 23. In that the children were partakers of sless and blood, he himself likewise took part with them, Heb. ii. 14. He took not on him the nature of angels, but the seed of Abraham, ver. 16. So that we are hone of his hone, and sless of his sless, Eph. v. 30. So that he that sanctifieth, and they that are sanctified, are all of one, Heb. ii. 11. See Acts iii. 22. Deut. xviii. 15. Heb. i. 1.

XVIÍ.

Concerning his priesthood, Christ, having sanctified himself, hath appeared once to put away sin by that one offering of himself a facrifice for sin, by which he hath sully finished and suffered all things God required for the salvation of his elect, and removed all rites and shadows, &c. and is now entered within the vail into the holy of holies, which is the presence of God. Also, he makes his people a spiritual house, an holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual facrifice acceptable to God through him. Neither doth the Father accept, or Christ offer to the Father, any other worship or worshippers.

John xvii. 19. Heb. v. 7, 8, 9, 10, 12. Rom. v. 19. Eph. v. 2. Col. i. 20. Eph. ii. 14, &c. Rom. viii. 34. Heb. viii. 1; and ix. 24. 1 Pet. ii. 5. John iv. 23, 24.

XVIII.

This priesthood was not legal or temporary, but according to the order of Melchisedeck, and is stable and perfect, not for a time, but for ever, which is suitable to Jesus Christ, as to him that ever liveth. Christ was the priest, sacrifice, and altar: he was a priest according to both natures; he was a sacrifice according to his human nature; whence in scripture it is attributed to his body, to his blood; yet the effectualness of this facrifice did depend upon his divine nature; therefore it is called the blood of God. He was the altar according to his divine nature, it belonging to the altar to fanctify that which is offered upon it, and so it ought to be of greater dignity than the sacrifice itself.

Heb. v. 6; vii. 16, &c.; ix. 13. 14; x. 10; and xiii. 10, 12, 15. 1 Peter i. 18, 19. Col. i. 20, 22. Acts xx. 28. Matt. xxiii. 17. John xvii. 19,

XIX.

Concerning his kingly office, Chrift being rifen from the dead, and afcended into heaven, and having all power in heaven and earth, he doth spiritually govern his church, and doth exercise his power over all, angels and men, good and bad, to the preservation and salvation of the elect, and to the over-ruling and destruction of his enemies. By this kingly power he applies the benefits, virtue, and fruits of his prophecy and priesthood to his elect, subduing their fins, preserving

preserving and strengthening them in all their conflicts against Satan, the world, and the slesh, keeping their hearts in faith and silial fear by his spirit: by this his mighty power he ruleth the vessels of wrath, using, limiting and restraining them, as it seems good to his infinite wisdom.

1 Cor. xv. 4. 1 Pet. iii. 21, 22. Matt. xxviii. 18, 19. Luke xxiv. 51. Acts i. 1; and v. 30, 31. John v. 26, 27; xix. 36; and xvi. 15. Rom. i. 21? v. 6, 7, 8; xiv. 9, 17; and xvii. 18. Gal. v. 22, 23. Mark i. 27. Heb. i. 14. Job ii. 8; and xvii. 18. Eph. iv. 17, 18. 2 Peter ii.

XX.

This his kingly power shall be more fully manifested when he shall come in glory to reign among his faints, when he shall put down all rule and authority under his feet, that the glory of the Father may be perfectly manifested in his Son, and the glory of the Father and the Son in all his members.

1 Cor. xv. 24, 28. Heb. ix. 28. 1 The f. iv. 15, 16, 17. 2 The ff. i. 9, 10. John xvii. 21, 26.

XXI.

Jesus Christ by his death did purchase salvation for the elect that God gave unto him: these only have interest in him, and fellowship with him, for whom he makes intercession to his Father in their behalf, and to them alone doth God by his Spirit apply this redemption; as also the free gift of eternal life is given to them, and none else.

Eph. i. 14. Heb. v. 9; and vii. 25. Matt. i. 21. John xvii. 6. 1 Cor. ii. 12. Rom. viii. 29, 30. 1 John v. 12. John xv. 13; and iii. 16.

XXII.

Faith is the gift of God, wrought in the hearts of the elect by the Spirit of God; by which faith they come to know and believe the truth of the scriptures, and the excellency of them above all other writings, and all things in the world, as they hold forth the glory of God in his attributes, the excellency of Christ in his nature and offices, and of the power and fulness of the Spirit in his workings and operations; and so are enabled to cast their souls upon this truth thus believed.

Eph. ii. 8. John iv. 10; vi. 29, 63; and xvii. 17. Phil. i. 29. Gal. v. Heb. iv. 11, 12.

XXIII.

All those that have this precious faith wrought in them by the Spirit, can never finally nor totally fall away; seeing the gifts of God are without repentance; so that he still begets and nourisheth in them faith, repentance, love, joy, hope, and all the graces of the Spirit unto immortality; and though many storms and floods arise, and beat

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beat against them, yet they shall never be able to take them off that foundation and rock, which by faith they are fastened upon; not-withstanding, through unbelief, and the temptations of Satan, the sensible sight of this light and love be clouded and overwhelmed for a time; yet God is still the same, and they shall be sure to be kept by the power of God unto salvation, where they shall enjoy their purchased possession, they being engraved upon the palms of his hands, and their names having been written in the book of life from all eternity.

Matt. vii. 24, 25. John xiii. 10; and x. 28, 29. 1 Peter i. 4, 5, 6. Ifa. xlix. 13, 14, 15, 16.

XXIV.

Faith is ordinarily begotten by the preaching of the gospel, or word of Christ, without respect to any power or agency in the creature; but it being wholly passive, and dead in trespasses and sins, doth believe and is converted by no less power than that which raised Christ from the dead.

Rom. x. 17. 1 Cor. i. 28. Rom. i. 16; iii. 12; and ix. 16. Ezekxvi. 16. Eph. i. 19. Col. ii. 12.

XXV.

The preaching of the gospel to the conversion of sinners, is absolutely free: no way requiring as absolutely necessary, any qualifications, preparations, or terrors of the law, or preceding ministry of the law, but only and alone the naked soul, a sinner and ungodly, to receive Christ crucified, dead and buried, and risen again; who is made a prince and a saviour for such sinners as through the gospel shall be brought to believe on him.

John i. 12; and iii. 14, 15. Ifa. lv. 1. John vii. 37. 1 Tim. i. 15. Rom. iv. 5; and v. 8. Acts v. 30, 31; and ii. 36. 1 Cor. i. 22, 24.

XXVI.

The same power that converts to faith in Christ, carrieth on the soul through all duties, temptations, conslicts, sufferings; and what-soever a believer is, he is by grace, and is carried on in all obedience and temptations by the same.

I Peter i. 5. I Cor. xv. 10. 2 Cor. xii. 9. Phil. ii. 12, 13. John xv. 5. Gal. ii. 19, 20.

XXVII.

All believers are by Christ united to God; by which union, God is one withthem, and they are one with him; and that all believers

I Thess. i. 1. John xvii. 21; and xx. 17. Heb. ii. 11. 1 John iv. 16. Gal. ii. 19, 20.

are the fons of God, and joint heirs with Christ, to whom belong all the promises of this life, and that which is to come.

XXVIII.

Those that have union with Christ, are justified from all their sins by the blood of Christ, which justification is a gracious and full acquittance of a guilty sinner from all sin, by God, through the satisfaction that Christ hath made by his death for all their sins, and this applied (in the manifestation of it) through faith.

1 John i. 7. Heb. x. 14; and ix. 26. 2 Cor. v. 19. Rom. iii. 23, 25, 30; and v. 1. Acts xiii. 38, 39.

XXIX.

All believers are a holy and fanctified people, and that fanctification is a spiritual grace of the new covenant, and an effect of the love of God manifested in the soul, whereby the believer present after a heavenly and evangelical obedience to all the commands which Christ, as head and king in his new covenant, hath prescribed to them.

1 Cor. xii. 1 Peter ii. 9. Eph. i. 4. 1 John iv. 16. Matt. xxviii. 20.

XXX.

All believers, through the knowledge of that justification of life given by the Father, and brought forth by the blood of Christ, have, as their great privilege of that new covenant, peace with God, and reconciliation, whereby they that were afar off are made nigh by that blood, and have peace passing all understanding; yea, joy in God through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom we have received the atonement.

2 Cor. v. 19. Rom. v. 9, 10. Ifa. xx; and liv. 10. Eph. ii. 13, 14; and iv. 7. Rom. v. 10, 11.

XXXI.

All believers, in the time of this life, are in a continual warfare and combat against fin, self, the world, and the devil; and are liable to all manner of affictions, tribulations, and perfecutions, being predestinated and appointed thereunto; and whatsoever the saints possess or enjoy of God spiritually, is by saith; and outward and temporal things are lawfully enjoyed by a civil right by them who have no faith.

Rom. vii. 23, 24; and viii. 29. Eph. vi. 10, 11, &c., Heb. ii. 9, 10. 2 Tim. iii. 12: 1 The fl. iii. 3. Gal. ii. 19, 20. 2 Cor. v. 7. Deut. ii. 5.

XXXII

The only strength by which the faints are enabled to encounter with all oppositions and trials, is only by Jesus Christ, who is the captain of their falvation, being made perfect through sufferings; who hath engaged his faithfulness and strength to assist them in all their afflictions,

affilictions, and to uphold them in all their temptations, and to preferve them by his power to his everlafting kingdom.

John xv. 5; and xvi. 33. Phil. iv. 11. Heb. ii. 9, 10. 2 Tim. iv. 18.

»XXXIII.

Jefus Christ hath here on earth a spiritual kingdom, which is his church, whom he hath purchased and redeemed to himself as a peculiar inheritance; which church is a company of visible faints, called and separated from the world by the word and spirit of God, to the visible profession of the faith of the gospel, being baptized into that faith, and joined to the Lord, and each to other, by mutual agreement in the practical enjoyment of the ordinances commanded by Christ their head and king.

Matt. xi, 11; xviii. 19, 20. 2 Theff. i. 1. 1 Cor. i. 2. Eph. i. 1. Rom. i. 7. Acts xix. 8, 9; and xxvi. 18. 2 Cor. vi. 17. Rev. xviii. 4. Acts ii. 37, 42; ix. 26; and x. 24. Rom. x. 10. 1 Peter ii. 5.

XXXIV.

To this church he hath made his promises, and giveth the signs of his covenant, presence, acceptation, love, blessing, and protection. Here are the fountains and springs of his heavenly graces slowing forth to refresh and strengthen them.

Matt. xxviii. 18, &c. 1 Cor. iii. 21; and xi. 24. 2 Cor. vi. 18. Rom. ix. 4, 5. Pfalm cxxxiii. 3. Rom. iii. 7, 10. Ezek. xlvii. 2.

XXXV.

And all his fervants of all estates (are to acknowledge him to be their prophet, prieft, and king;) and called thither to be enrolled among his houshold fervants, to prefent their bodies and fouls, and to bring their gifts God hath given them, to be under his heavenly conduct and government, to lead their lives in this walled sheepfold, and watered garden, to have communion here with his faints, that they may be affured that they are made meet to be partakers of their itance in the kingdom of God; and to supply each other's wants, inw d and outward; (and although each person hath a property in his comestate, yet they are to supply each other's wants, according as their necessities shall require, that the name of Jesus Christ may not be blasphemed through the necessity of any in the church) and also being come, they are here by himself to be bestowed in their several order, due place, peculiar use, being fitly compact and knit together, according to the effectual working of every part, to the edifying of itself in love.

Acts ii. 41, 44, 45, 47. Ma. iv. 3. 1 Cor. xii. 6, 7, &c. Ezek. xx. 37, 40. Cant. iv. 12. Eph. ii. 19. Rom. xii. 4, 5, 6. Col. i. 12; and ii. 5, 6, 19. Acts iv. 34, 35; v. 4; and xx. 32. Luke xiv. 26. 1 Tim. vi. 1. Eph. iv. 16.

XXXVI. Being

XXXVI.

Being thus joined, every church hath power given them from Christ, for their well-being, to choose among themselves meet perfons for elders and deacons, being qualified according to the word, as those which Christ hath appointed in his testament, for the feeding, governing, serving, and building up of his church: and that none have any power to impose on them either these or any other.

Acts i. 23, 26; vi. 3; and xv. 22, 25. Rom. xii. 7, 8. 1 Tim. iii. 2, 6, 7. 1 Cor. xii. 8, 28. Heb. xiii. 7, 17. 1 Pet. v. 1, 2, 3; and iv. 15.

XXXVII.

That the ministers lawfully called, as aforefaid, ought to continue in their calling and place, according to God's ordinance, and carefully to feed the flock of God committed to them, not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind.

Heb. v. 4. John x. 3, 4. Acts xx. 28, 29. Rom. xii. 7, 8. Heb. xiii. 7, 17. Peter v. 1, 2, 3.

XXXVIII.

The ministers of Christ ought to have whatsoever they shall need, supplied freely by the church, that, according to Christ's ordinances, they that preach the Gospel should live of the gospel by the law of Christ.

1 Cor. ix 7, 14. Gal. vi. 8. Phil. iv. 15, 16. 2 Cor. x. 4. 1 Tim. i. 2. Pfalm cx. 3.

XXXXIX

Baptism is an ordinance of the New Testament, given by Christ, to be dispensed upon persons professing faith, or that are made disciples; who, upon profession of faith, ought to be baptized, and after to partake of the Lord's Supper.

Matt. xxviii. 18, 19. John iv. 1. Mark xvi. 15, 16. Acts ii. 37, 38; and viii. 36, 37, &c.

XL.

That the way and manner of the dispensing this ordinance, is dipping or plunging the body under water; it being a sign, must answer the things signified, which is, that interest the faints have in the death, burial and resurrection of Christ: and that as certainly as the body is buried under water, and risen again; so certainly shall the bodies of the faints be raised by the power of Christ, in the day of the resurrection, to reign with Christ.

Matt. iii. 6, 16. Mark xv. 9, reads [into Jordan] in Greek, John iii. 23. Acts viii. 38. Rev. i. 5; and vii. 14. Heb. x. 22. Rom. vi. 3, 4, 5, 6. 1 Cor. xv. 28, 29.

The word baptizo signifies to dip or plunge (yet so as convenient garments be both upon the administrator and subject with all modesty.)

XLI. The

XLI.

The person defigned by Christ to dispense baptism, the scripture holds forth to be a disciple; it being no where tied to a particular church officer, or person extraordinarily sent, the commission enjoining the administration, being given to them as considered disciples, being men able to preach the gospel.

Ifa. viii. 16. Eph. ii. 7. Matt. xx viii. 19. John iv. 2. Acts xx. 7; and xi. 10. 1 Cor. xi. 2; and x. 16, 17. Rom. xvi. 2. Matt. xviii. 17.

XLII.

Christ hath likewise given power to his church to receive in, and cast out, any member that deserves it; and this power is given to every congregation, and not to one particular person, either member or officer, but in relation to the whole body, in reference to their faith and fellowship.

Rom. xvi. 2. Matt. xviii. 17. 1 Cor. v. 4, 11, 13; xii. 6; and ii. 3. 2 Cor. ii. 6, 7.

XLIII.

And every particular member of each church, how excellent, great, or learned foever, is subject to this censure and judgment; and that the church ought not without great care and tenderness, and due advice, but by the rule of faith, to proceed against her members.

Matt. xviii. 16; and xvii. 18. Acts xi. 2, 3. 1 Tim. v. 19, &c. Col. iv. 17. Acts xv. 1, 2, 3.

XLIV.

Christ, for the keeping of this church in holy and orderly communion, placeth some special men over the church; who, by their office, are to govern, oversee, visit, watch; so likewise for the better keeping thereof, in all places by the members, he hath given authority; and laid duty upon all to watch over one another.

Acts xx. 27, 28. Heb. xiii. 17, 24. Matt. xxiv. 45. 1 Theff. v. 2, 14. Jude 3, 20. Heb. x. 34, 35; and xii. 15.

XLV.

Also such to whom God hath given gifts in the church, may and ought to prophefy, according to the proportion of faith, and so to teach publickly the word of God, for the edification, exhortation, and comfort of the church.

1 Cor. xiv. 3, &c. Rom. xii. 6. 1 Peter iv. 10, 11. 1 Cor. xii. 7. 1 Thess. v. 19, &c.

XLVI.

Thus being rightly gathered, and continuing in the obedience of the gospel of Christ, none are to separate for faults and corruptions (for (for as long as the church confifts of men subject to failings, there will be difference in the true constituted church) until they have in due order, and tenderness, sought redress thereof

Rev. ii. and iii. Acts xv. 12. 1 Cor. i. 10. Heb x. 25. Jude 19. Rev. ii. 20, 21, 27. Acts xv. 1, 2. Rom. xiv. 1; and xv. 1, 2, 3.

XLVII.

And although the particular congregations be distinct, and several bodies, every one as a compact and knit city within itself: yet are they are all to walk by one rule of truth: so also they (by all means convenient) are to have the counsel and help one of another, if necessity require it, as members of one body, in the common faith, under Christ their head.

1 Cor. iv. 17; xiv. 33, 36; and xvi. 1. Psalm exxii. 3. Eph. ii. 12, 19. Rev. xxi. 1 Tim iii. 15; vi. 13, 14. 1 Cor. iv. 17. Acts xv. 2, 3. Cant. viii. 8, 9. 2 Cor. viii. 1, 4; and xiii. 14.

XLVIII.

A civil magistracy is an ordinance of God, set up by him for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well; and that in all lawful things, commanded by them, subjection ought to be given by us in the Lord, not only for wrath, but for conscience-fake; and that we are to make supplications and prayers for kings, and all that are in authority, that under them we may live a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty.

Rom. xiii. 1, 2, &c. 1 Peter ii. 13, 14. 1 Tim. ii, 1, 2, 3.

The supreme magistracy of this kingdom we acknowledge to be the king and parliament (now established) freely chosen by the kingdom, and that we are to maintain and defend all civil laws and civil officers made by them, which are for the good of the commonwealth. And we acknowledge with thankfulness, that God bath made this present king and parliament honourable in throwing down the prelatical hierarchy, because of their tyranny and oppression over us, under which this kingdom long grouned, for which we are ever engaged to bless God, and bonour them for the same. And concerning the worship of God; there is but one lawgiver, which is able to save and de lroy, James iv. 12, which is Jefus Christ, who bath given laws and rules sufficient in his award for his avorship; and for any to make more, avere to charge Christ with want of wisdom, or faithfulness, or both, in not making laws enough, or not good enough for his house: surely it is our avisdom, duty, and privilege, to observe Christ's laws only, Psalm ii. 6, 9, 10, 12. So it is the maginates' duty to tender the liberty of men's confciences, Ecclef. viii. 8. (which is the tenderest thing to all conscientious men, and most dear unto them, and without which all other liberties will not be worth the naming, much less enjoying) and to protect all under them from all wrong, injury, oppression and molestation; so it is our duty not to be wanting in any thing which is for their bonour and comfort, and what soever is for the well-being of the commonwealth wherein we live; it is our duty to do, and we believe it to

be our express duty, especially in matters of religion, to be fully persuaded in our minds of the lawfulness of what we do, as knowing what soever is not of faith is sin. And as we cannot do any thing contrary to our understandings and consciences, so neither can we forbear the doing of that which our understandings and consciences bind us to do. And if the magistrates should require us to do otherwise, we are to yield our persons in a passive way to their power, as the faints of old have done, James v. 4. And thrice happy shall be be, that shall lese his life for witnessing (though but for the least title) of the truth of the Lord Jesus Christ, 1 Peter v. Gal. v.

XLIX.

But in case we find not the magistrate to favour us herein; yet we dare not suspend our practice, because we believe we ought to go in obedience to Christ, in professing the faith which was once delivered to the faints, which faith is declared in the holy scriptures, and this our confession of faith a part of them, and that we are to witness to the truth of the Old and New Testament unto the death, if necessity require, in the midst of all trials and afflictions, as his faints of old have done; not accounting our goods, lands, wives, children, fathers, mothers, brethren, sisters; yea, and our own lives dear to us, so we may finish our course with joy; remembering always, that we ought to obey God rather than men, who will, when we have sinished our course, and kept the faith, give us the crown of righteousness; to whom we must give an account of all our actions, and no man being able to discharge us of the same.

Acts ii. 40, 41; iv. 19; v. 28, 29; and xx. 23. 1 Thess. iii. 3. Phil. i. 28, 29. Dan. iii. 16, 17; and vi. 7, 10, 22, 23. 1 Tim. vi. 13, 14. Rom. xii. 1, 8. 1 Cor. xiv. 37. Rev. ii. 20. 2 Tim. iv. 6, 7, 8. Rom. xiv. 10, 12. 2 Cor. v. 10. Psalm xlix. 7; and l. 22.

L.

It is lawful for a christian to be a magistrate or civil officer; and also it is lawful to take an oath, so it be in truth, and in judgment, and in righteousness, for confirmation of truth, and ending of all strife; and that by rash and vain oaths the Lord is provoked, and this land mourns.

Acts viii. 38; and x. 1, 2, 35. Rom xvi. 23. Deut. vi. 13. Rom. i. 9-2 Cor. x. 11. Jer. iv. 2. Heb. vi. 16.

LI.

We are to give unto all men whatsoever is their due, as their place, age, estate, requires; and that we defraud no man of any thing, but to do unto all men as we would they should do unto us.

1 Theff. iv. 6. Rom. xiii. 5, 6, 7. Matt. xxii. 21. Titus iii. 1 Peter ii. 15, 17; and v. 5. Eph. v. 21, 23; and vi. 1, 9. Titus iii. 1, 2, 3.

LII. There

LII.

There shall be a resurrection of the dead, both of the just and unjust, and every one shall give an account of himself to God, that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad.

Acts xxiv. 15. 1 Cor. v. 10. Rom. xiv. 12.

THE CONCLUSION.

THUS we desire to give unto Christ that which is his; and unto all lawful authority that which is their due; and to owe nothing to any man but love; to live quietly and peaceably, as it becometh faints, endeavouring in all things to keep a good conscience, and to do unto every man (of what judgment foever) as we would they should do unto us, that as our practice is, so it may prove us to be a conscionable, quiet, and harmless people, (no ways dangerous or troublesome to human society) and to labour and work with our hands that we may not be chargeable to any, but to give to him that needeth, both friends and enemies, accounting it more excellent to give than to receive. Also we confess, that we know but in part, and that we are ignorant of many things which we defire and feek to know; and if any shall do us that friendly part to shew us from the word of God that we see not, we shall have cause to be thankful to God and them; but if any man shall impose upon us any thing that we see not to be commanded by our Lord Jesus Christ, we should in his strength rather embrace all reproaches and tortures of men, to be stripped of all outward comforts, and if it were possible, to die a thousand deaths, rather than to do any thing against the least tittle of the truth of God, or against the light of our own consciences. And if any shall call what we have faid herefy, then do we with the Apostle acknowledge, that after the way they call herefy, worship we the God of our fathers, disclaiming all herefies (rightly so called) because they are against Christ, and to be stedfast and immoveable, always abounding in obedience to Christ, as knowing our labour shall not be in vain in the Lord.

Pfalm lxxiv. 21, 22.

ARISE, O God, plead thine own cause; remember how the foolish man blasphemeth thee daily. O let not the oppressed return ashamed, but let the poor and needy praise thy name.

Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly.

No. XI.

A concise View of the chief Principles of the Christian Religion, as professed by the People called QUAKERS.

BY ROBERT BARCLAY.

THE FIRST PROPOSITION.

Concerning the true Foundation of Knowledge.

SEEING the height of all happiness is placed in the true know-ledge of God, (This is life eternal, to know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent...*) the true and right understanding of this foundation and ground of knowledge, is that which is most necessary to be known and believed in the first place.

THE SECOND PROPOSITION.

Concerning immediate Revelation.

SEEING no man knoweth the Father but the Son, and he to whom the Son revealeth him; + and feeing the revelation of the Son is in and by the Spirit; therefore the testimony of the Spirit is that alone by which the true knowledge of God hath been, is, and can be, only revealed; who as, by the moving of his own Spirit, he converted the chaos of this world into that wonderful order wherein it was in the beginning, and created man a living foul, to rule and govern it, fo by the revelation of the fame spirit he hath manifested himself all along unto the fons of men, both patriarchs, prophets, and apostles; which revelations of God by the Spirit, whether by outward voices and appearances, dreams, or inward objective manifestations in the heart, were of old the formal object of their faith, and remain yet so to be; fince the object of the Saints faith is the same in all ages, though set forth under Moreover, these divine inward revelations, divers administrations. which we make absolutely necessary for the building up of true faith, neither do nor can contradict the outward testimony of the scriptures, or right and found reason. Yet from hence it will not follow, that these divine revelations are to be subjected to the examination either of the outward testimony of the scriptures, or of the natural reason of man, as to a more noble or certain rule or touchstone; for this divine revelation, and inward illumination, is that which is evident and clear of itself, forcing, by its own evidence and clearness, the well-disposed

* John xvii. 3. + Matt. xi. 27.

understanding

understanding to assent, irrissibly moving the same thereunto; even as the common principles of natural truths move and incline the mind to a natural assent; as that the whole is greater than its parts; that two contradictory sayings cannot be both true, nor both salfe: which is also manifest according to our adversaries' principle; who (supposing the possibility of inward divine revelations) will nevertheless confess with us, that neither scripture nor sound reason will contradict it: and yet it will not follow, according to them, that the scripture, or sound reason, should be subjected to the examination of the divine revelations in the heart.

THE THIRD PROPOSITION. Concerning the Scriptures.

FROM these revelations of the Spirit of God to the faints, have proceeded the scriptures of truth, which contain, 1. A faithful historical account of the artings of God's people in divers ages, with many fingular and remarkable providences attending them. 2. A prophetical account of feveral things, whereof fome are already past, and some yet to come. 3. A full and ample account of all the chief principles of the doctrine of Christ, held forth in divers precious declarations, exhortations, and fentences, which, by the moving of God's Spirit, were at feveral times, and upon fundry occasions, spoken and written unto some churches and their pattors: nevertheless, because they are only a declaration of the Fountain, and not the FOUNTAIN ITSELF, therefore they are not to be esteemed the principal ground of all truth and knowlege, nor yet the adequate primary rule of faith and manners. Nevertheless, as that which giveth a true and faithful testimony of the First Foundation, they are and may be esteemed a secondary RULE, subordinate to the SPIRIT, from which they have all their excellency and certainty: for as by the inward testimony of the Spirit we do alone truly know them, so they tellify, that the SPIRIT is that guide by which the faints are led into all truth; therefore, according to the scriptures, the Spirit is the first and principal leader. And feeing we do therefore receive and believe the scriptures, because they proceeded from the Spirit; therefore also the Spirit is more originally and principally the rule, according to that received maxim in the schools, propter quod unumquodque est tale, illud iffum est magis tale. Englished thus: that for subich a thing is fuch, that thing itself is more such.

THE FOURTH PROPOSITION.

Concerning the Condition of MAN in the FALL.

ALL Adam's posterity (or mankind+) both Jews and Gentiles, as to the first Adam or earthly man, is fallen, degenerated, and dead,

* John xvi. 13. Rom. viii. 14. † Rom. v. 12, 15. deprived

deprived of the fensation or feeling of this inward testimony or Seed of God; and is subject unto the power, nature, and seed of the serpent, which he fows in men's hearts, while they abide in this natural and corrupted state; from whence it comes, that not their words and deeds only, but all their imaginations are evil perpetually in the fight of God, as proceeding from this depraved and wicked feed. Man, therefore, as he is in this state, can know nothing aright; yea, his thoughts and conceptions concerning God and things spiritual, until he be disjoined from this evil feed, and united to the Divine Light, are unprofitable both to himfelf and others. Hence are rejected the Socinian and Pelagian errors, in exalting a natural light; as also those of the papifts, and most protestants, who affirm, that man, without the true grace of God, may be a true minister of the Gospel. Nevertheless, this feed is not imputed to infants, until by transgression they actually join themselves therewith; for "they are by nature the children of "wrath, who walk according to the power of the prince of the air."*

THE FIFTH AND SIXTH PROPOSITIONS.

Concerning the Univerfal Redemption by Christ, and also the Saving and Spiritual Light, wherewith every Man is entightened.

THE FIFTH PROPOSITION.

GOD, out of his infinite love, who delighteth not in the death of a finner, but that all should live and be faved, bath so loved the world, that he hath given his only Son a Light, that whosever believeth in him should be saved; who enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world, and maketh manifest all things that are reproveable, and teacheth all temperance, righteousness, and godliness: \(\pm\) and this Light enlighteneth the hearts of all in a day, \(\pm\) in order to salvation, if not resisted. Nor is it less universal than the seed of sin, being the purchase of his death, who tasted death for every man: for as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive.

THE SIXTH PROPOSITION.

ACCORDING to which principle, or hypothesis, all the objections against the Universality of Christ's death are easily solved; neither is it needful to recur to the ministry of angels, and those other miraculous means, which, they say, God makes use of to manifest the doctrine and history of Christ's passion unto such who (living in those places of the world where the outward preaching of the gospel is unknown) have well improved the first and common Grace: for hence it well follows, that as some of the old philosophers might have been

* Eph. ii. 1. + Ezek. xviii. 23. Isa. xlix. 6. John iii. 16, and i. 9. Titus ii. 11. Eph. v. 13. Heb. ii. 9.

! Pro tempore, for a time. § I Cor. xv. 22.

faved,

faved, so also may now some (who by Providence are cast into those remote parts of the world, where the knowledge of the History is wanting) be made partakers of the divine Mercy, if they receive and refist not that Grace, a manifestation whereof is given to every man to This certain doctrine then being received, to wit, profit withal. that there is an evangelical and faving Light and Grace in All, the universality of the love and mercy of God towards mankind (both in the death of his beloved Son, the Lord Jesus Christ, and in the manifestation of the Light in the heart) is established and confirmed, against all the objections of such as deny it. Therefore Christ hath tasted death for every man; * not only for all kinds of men, as some. vainly talk, but for every one, of all kinds; the benefit of whose offering is not only extended to fuch who have the diffinct outward knowledge of his death and fufferings, as the fame is declared in the scriptures, but even unto those who are necessarily excluded from the benefit of this knowledge by fome inevitable accident; which knowledge we willingly confess to be very profitable and comfortable, but not absolutely needful unto such, from whom God himself hath withheld it; yet they may be made partakers of the mystery of his death (though ignorant of the history) if they suffer his Seed and Light, enlightening their hearts, to take place (in which Light, communion with the Father and Son is enjoyed) fo as of wicked men to become holy, and lovers of that power, by whose inward and fecret touches they feel themselves turned from the evil to the good, and learn to do to others as they would be done by; in which Christ himself affirms all to be included. As they then have falsly and erroneously taught, who have denied Christ to have died for all men; fo neither have they fufficiently taught the truth, who affirming him to have died for all, have added the absolute necessity of the outward knowledge thereof, in order to the obtaining its faving effect; among whom the Remonstrants of Holland have been chiefly wanting, and many other affertors of Univerfal Redemption, in that they have not placed the extent of this falvation in that divine and evangelical principle of Light and Life, wherewith Christ hath enlightened every man that comes into the world; which is excellently and evidently held forth in these scriptures: Gen. vi. 3. Deut. xxx. 14. John i. 7, 8, 9. Rom. x. 8. Tit. ii. 11.

THE SEVENTH PROPOSITION.

. Concerning Juftification.

AS many as refift not this Light, but receive the fame, in them is produced an holy, pure, and spiritual birth, bringing forth holiness, righteousness, purity, and all those other blessed fruits which are acceptable to God, by which holy birth, (to wit, Jesus Christ formed within us, and working his works within us) as we are sanctified, so are we justified in the sight of God, according to the apostle's words:

| 1 Cor xii. 7. * Heb. ii. 9.

but

But ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified, in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God. † Therefore it is not by our works wrought in our will, nor yet by good works, confidered as of themselves, but by Christ, who is both the gift and the giver, and the cause producing the effects in us: who, as he hath reconciled us while we were enemies, doth and in his wisdom save us, and justify us after this manner, as faith the same apostle elsewhere. According to his mercy he saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost.*

THE EIGHTH PROPOSITION.

Concerning Perfection.

IN whom this Holy and Pure Birth is fully brought forth, the body of death and fin comes to be crucified and removed, and their hearts united and fubjected to the Truth, so as not to obey any suggestion or temptation of the evil one, but to be free from actual singuing, and transgressing of the law of God, and in that respect perfect. Yet doth this perfection still admit of a growth; and there remaineth a possibility of sinning, where the mind doth not most diligently and watchfully attend unto the Lord.

THE NINTH PROPOSITION.

Concerning Perseverance, and the possibility of falling from Grace.

ALTHOUGH this gift, and inward Grace of God, be sufficient to work out salvation; yet in those in whom it is resisted, it both may and doth become their condemnation. Moreover, in whom it hath wrought in part, to purify and sanctify them, in order to their further perfection, by disobedience such may fall from it, and turn it to wantonness, making shipwreck of faith; and after having tasted of the heavenly gift, and been made partakers of the Holy Ghost, again fall away. Yet such an increase and stability in the truth may in this life be attained, from which there cannot be a total apostacy.

THE TENTH PROPOSITION.

Concerning the Ministry.

AS by this Gift, or Light of God, all true knowledge in things of spiritual is received and revealed; so by the same, as it is manifested and received in the heart, by the strength and power thereof, every true minister of the gospel is ordained, prepared, and supplied in the work of the ministry: and by the leading, moving, and drawing hereof, ought every evangelist and christian pastor to be led and ordered in his labour and work of the gospel, both as to the place where, as to the persons to whom, and as to the times when he is to minister. More-

† 1 Cor. vi. 11. * Tit. iii. 5. § Rom. vi. 2, 14, 18, and viii. 13. 1 John iii. 6. 1 1 Tim. i. 6. Heb. vi. 4, 5, 6.

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over, those who have this authority may and ought to preach the gospel, though without human commission or literature; as, on the other hand, those who want the authority of this divine gift, however learned or authorized by the commissions of men and churches, are to be esteemed but as deceivers, and not true ministers of the gospel. Also, who have received this holy and unspotted gift, as they have freely received, so are they freely to give,* without hire or bargaining, far less to use it as a trade to get money by it: yet if God hath called any from their employments, or trades, by which they acquire their livelihood, it may be lawful for such (according to the liberty which they feel given them in the Lord) to receive such temporals (to wit, what may be needful to them for meat and clothing) as are freely given them by those to whom they have communicated spirituals.

THE ELEVENTH PROPOSITION.

Concerning Worship.

ALL true and acceptable worship to God is offered in the inward and immediate moving and drawing of his own Spirit, which is neither limited to places, times, or persons: for though we be to worship him always, in that we are to fear before him; yet as to the outward fignification thereof in prayers, praifes, and preachings, we ought not to do it where and when we will, but where and when we are moved thereunto by the fecret inspirations of his Spirit in our hearts; which God heareth and accepteth of, and is never wanting to move us thereunto, when need is, of which he himself is the alone proper judge. All other worship then, both praises, prayers, and preachings, which man fets about in his own will, and at his own appointment, which he can both begin and end at his pleasure, do or leave undone as himself sees meet; whether they be a proscribed form, as a liturgy, or prayers conceived extemporarily, by the natural strength and faculty of the mind; they are all but superstitions, will-worship, and abominable idolatry in the fight of God; which are to be denied, rejected, and separated from, in this day of his spiritual arising; however it might have pleased him (who winked at the times of ignorance, with respect to the simplicity and integrity of some, and of his own innocent feed, which lay as it were buried in the hearts of men, under the mass of superstition) to blow upon the dead and dry bones, and to raise some breathings, and answer them, and that until the day should more clearly dawn and break forth.

THE TWELFTH PROPOSITION.

Concerning Baptism.

AS there is One Lord and One Faith, fo there is One Baptism; which is not the putting away the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a

* Matt. x. 8.— † Ezek. xiii. Mark x. 20. Acts ii. 4; and xviii. 5. John iii. 6; and iv. 21. Jude 19. Acts xvii. 23.

good conscience before God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ.* And this baptism is a pure and spiritual thing, to wit, the baptism of the spirit and sire, by which we are buried with him, that being washed and purged from our sins, we may walk in newness of life; + of which the baptism of John was a sigure, which was commanded for a time, and not to continue for ever. As to the baptism of infants, it is a mere human tradition, for which neither precept nor practice is to be found in all the scripture.

THE THIRTEENTH PROPOSITION.

Concerning the Communion, or Participation of the Body and Blood of Christ.

THE communion of the body and blood of Christ is inward and spiritual, which is the participation of his siesh and blood, by which the inward man is daily nourished in the hearts of those in whom Christ dwells; of which things the breaking of bread by Christ with his disciples was a figure, which they even used in the church for a time, who had received the substance, for the cause of the weak; even as abstaining from things strangled, and from blood, the washing one another's feet, and the anointing of the sick with oil; all which are commanded with no less authority and solemnity than the former; yet seeing they are but the shadows of better things, they cease in such as have obtained the substance.

THE FOURTEENTH PROPOSITION.

Concerning the Power of the Civil Magistrate, in Matters purely Religious, and pertaining to the Conscience.

SINCE God hath affumed to himself the power and dominion of the conscience, who alone can rightly instruct and govern it, therefore it is not lawful for any whatsoever, by virtue of any authority or principality they bear in the government of this world, to force the consciences of others; and therefore all killing, banishing, simprisoning, and other such things, which men are afflicted with, for the alone exercise of their conscience, or difference in worship of opinion, proceedeth from the spirit of Cain the murderer, and is contrary to the truth: provided always, that no man, under the pretence of conscience, prejudice his neighbour in his life or estate; or do any thing destructive to, or inconsistent with, human society; in which case the law is for the transgressor, and justice to be administered upon all, without respect of persons.

* Eph. iv. 5. 1 Peter iii. 21. Rom. vi. 4. Gal. iii. 27. Col. ii. 12. John iii. 30.— † 1 Cor. i. 17.— ; 1 Cor. x. 16, 17.— § John vi. 32, 33, 35. 1 Cor. v. 8.— || Acts xv. 20. John xiii. 14. James v. 14. — ¶ Luke ix. 55, 56. Matt. vii. 12, 29. Titus iii. 10.

THE

THE FIFTEENTH PROPOSITION.

Concerning the Salutations and Recreations, &c.

Seeing the chief end of all religion is to redeem man from the spirit and vain conversation of this world, and to lead into inward communion with God,* before whom if we fear always, we are accounted happy; therefore all the vain customs and habits thereof, both in word and deed, are to be rejected and forfaken by those who come to this fear; fuch as the taking off the hat to a man, the bowings and cringings of the body, and fuch other falutations of that kind, with all the foolish and superstitious formalities attending them; all which man has invented in his degenerate flate, to feed his pride in the vain pomp and glory of this world; as also the unprofitable plays, frivolous recreations, sportings and gamings, which are invented to pass away the precious time, and divert the mind from the witness of God in the heart, and from the living fense of his fear, and from that evangelical spirit wherewith christians ought to be leavened, and which leads into fobriety, gravity, and godly fear; in which as we abide, the bleffing of the Lord is felt to attend us in those actions in which we are necessarily engaged, in order to the taking care for the fustenance of the outward man.

* Eph. v. 11. 1 Peter i. 14. John v. 44. Jer. x. 3. Acts x. 26. Matt. xv. 13. Col. ii. 8.

No. XII.

The Toleration Act, intitled, an Act for exempting their Majesties Protestant Subjects dissenting from the Church of England from the Penalties of certain Laws.

FORASMUCH as some ease to scrupulous consciences, in the exercise of religion, may be an effectual means to unite their Majesties' protestant subjects in interest and affection,*

I. Be it enacted by the king and queen's most excellent majesties, and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that neither the statute made in the 23d year of the reign of the late queen Elizabeth, intitled, an act to retain the queen majesty's subjects in their due obedience; nor that statute made in the 29th year of the said queen, intitled, an act for the more speedy;

^{* 1} Will. and Vary, cap. 18. + 23 Eliz. cap. 1. 1 29 Eliz. cap. 6.

and due execution of certain branches of the statute made in the 23d year of the queen's majesty's reign, viz. the aforesaid act; nor that branch or clause of a statute made in the first year of the reign of the said queen, intitled, an act for the uniformity of common-prayer and service in the church and administration of the sacraments; * whereby all persons, having no lawful or reasonable excuse to be absent, are required to refort to their parish church or chapel, or some usual place where the common-prayer shall be used, upon pain of punishment by the censures of the church; and also, upon pain that every person so offending shall forfeit for every such offence twelve-pence. Nor that statute made in the 3d year of the late king James the first, + intitled, an act for the better discovering and repressing popish recusants. Nor that after statute made in the same year, t intitled, an act to prevent and avoid dangers which may grow by popish recusants. Nor any other law or statute of this realm made against papists or popish recusants, except the statute made in the 25th year of king Charles II. § intitled, an act for preventing dangers which may happen from popish recusants. And except also the statute made in the 30th year of the said king Charles II. intitled, an act for the more effectual preserving the king's person and government, by disabling papists from sitting in either house of parliament, shall be construed to extend to any person or persons diffenting from the church of England, that shall take the oaths mentioned in a statute made this prefent parliament, intitled, an act for removing and preventing all questions and disputes concerning the assembling and sitting of the present parliament, shall make and subscribe the declaration mentioned in a statute made in the 30th year of the reign of king Charles II. q intitled, an act to prevent papifts from sitting in either house of parlia-Which oaths and declaration the juffices of peace at the general fessions of the peace to be held for the county or place where such person shall live, are hereby required to tender and administer to fuch persons as shall offer themselves to take, make and subscribe the fame, and thereof to keep a register. And likewise none of the persons aforesaid shall give or pay, as any see or reward, to any officer or officers belonging to the court aforefaid, above the fum of fix-pence, nor that more than once, for his or their entry of his taking the faid oaths, and making and fubscribing the said declaration; nor above the further fum of fix-pence for any certificate of the fame, to be made out and figned by the officer or officers of the faid court.

II. And be it further enacted by the authority aforefaid, that all and every perfon and perfons already convicted, or profecuted in order to conviction, of recufancy, by indictment, information, action of debt, or otherwise grounded upon the aforesaid statutes, or any of them, that shall take the said oaths mentioned in the said statutes

^{* 29} Eliz. cap. 2. §. 14. † 3 Jac. I. cap. 4. † 3 Jac. I. cap. 5. § 25 Car. II. cap. 2. || 30 Car. II. stat. 2d. cap. 1. ¶ Id.

made this present parliament, and make and subscribe the declaration aforesaid, in the court of Exchequer, or affize, or general or quarter-sessions, to be held for the county where such person lives, and to be thence respectively certified into the Exchequer; shall be thence-forth exempted and discharged from all the penalties, seizures, for-feitures, judgments, and executions, incurred by force of any of the aforesaid statutes, without any composition, see, or further charge whatsoever.

III. And be it further enacted by the authority aforefaid, that all and every person and persons that shall, as aforesaid, take the said oaths, and make and subscribe the declaration aforesaid, shall not be liable to any pains, penalties, or forseitures, mentioned in an act made in the 35th year of the reign of the late queen Elizabeth,* intitled, an act to retain the queen majesty's su jects in their due obedience. Nor in an act made in the 22d year of the reign of the late king Charles II.+ intitled, an act to prevent and suppress seditious conventicles. Nor shall any of the said persons be prosecuted in any ecclesiastical court, for or by reason of their non-conforming to the church of England.

IV. Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforefaid, that if any affembly of persons, dissenting from the church of England, shall be held in any place for religious worship, with the doors locked, barred, or boked, during any time of such meeting together, all and every person or persons that shall come to, and be at such meeting, shall not receive any benefit from this law, but be liable to all the pains and penalties of all the aforesaid laws recited in this act, for such their meeting, notwithstanding his taking the oaths, and his making and subscribing the declaration aforesaid.

V. Provided always, that nothing herein contained shall be confirued to exempt any of the persons aforesaid from paying of tithes, or other parochial duties, or any other duties to the church or minister; nor from any prosecution in any ecclesiastical court, or elsewhere, for the same.

VI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforefaid, that if any person dissenting from the church of England, as aforefaid, shall hereafter be chosen, or otherwise appointed to bear the office of high-constable, or petit-constable, churchwarden, overseer of the poor, or any other parochial or ward office, and such person shall scruple to take upon him any of the said offices, in regard of the oaths, or any other matter or thing required by the law to be taken or done, in respect of such office, every such person shall and may execute such office or employment by a sufficient deputy, by him to be provided, that shall comply with the laws on this behalf; provided always, the

faid deputy be allowed and approved by fuch person or persons, in fuch manner, as such officer or officers respectively should by law have been allowed and approved.

VII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforefaid, that no person diffenting from the church of England, in holy orders, or pretended holy orders, or pretending to holy orders, nor any preacher or teacher of any congregation of diffenting protestants, that shall make and subscribe the declaration aforesaid,* and take the said oaths, at the general or quarter-fessions of the peace to be held for the county, town, parts, or division where such person lives, which court is hereby impowered to administer the same; and shall also declare his approbation of, and subscribe the articles of religion mentioned in the flatute made in the 13th year of the reign of the late queen Elizabeth,‡ except the 34th, 35th, and 36th, and these words of the 20th article, viz. [the church bath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith, and yet, shall be liable to any of the pains or penalties mentioned in an act made in the 17th year of the reign of king Charles II. & intitled, an all for restraining non-conformists from inhabiting in corporations; nor the penalties mentioned in the aforesaid act made in the 22d year of his said late majesty's reign, for or by reason of such persons preaching at auy meeting for the exercise of religion. Nor to the penalties of 100l. mentioned in an act made in the 13th and 14th of king Charles II. intitled, an act for the uniformity of publick prayers, and administring of facraments, and other rites and ceremonies; and for establishing, the form of making, ordaining, and confecrating of bishops, priests, and deacons, in the church of England, for officiating in any congregation for the exercise of religion permitted and allowed by this act.

VIII. Provided always, that the making and subscribing the faid declaration, and the taking the said oaths, and making the declaration of approbation and subscription to the said articles, in manner as aforesaid, by every respective person or persons herein before-mentioned, at such general or quarter-sessions of the peace as aforesaid, shall be then and there entered of record in the said court, for which sixpence shall be paid to the clerk of the peace, and no more; provided that such person shall not at any time preach in any place but with the doors not locked, barred, or bolted, as aforesaid.

IX. And whereas fome diffenting protestants scruple the baptizing of infants, be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that every person in pretended holy orders, or pretending to holy orders, or preacher, or teacher, that shall subscribe the aforesaid articles of religion, except as before excepted: and also except part of the 27th article teaching infant-baptism, and shall take the oaths, and make and sub-

^{* 17} Car. II. cap. 2, 13 and 14. Car. II. cap. 4. † 13 Eliz. cap. 12. § 17 Car. II. cap. 2. | 13 and 14 Car. II. cap. 4. friibe

fcribe the declaration aforesaid, in manner aforesaid; every such person shall enjoy all the privileges, benefits, and advantages, which any other diffenting minister, as aforesaid, might have or enjoy by virtue of this act.

X. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that every teacher or preacher in holy orders, or pretended holy orders, that is a minister, preacher, or teacher of a congregation, that shall take the oaths herein required, and make and subscribe the declaration aforesaid; and also subscribe such of the aforesaid articles of the church of England, as are required by this act in manner aforesaid, shall be thenceforth exempted from serving upon any jury, or from being chosen, or appointed to bear the office of churchwarden, overseer of the poor, or any other parochial or ward office, or other office in any hundred, or any shire, city, town, parish, division, or wapentake.

XI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforefaid, that any justice of the peace may at any time hereafter require any person that goes to any meeting for exercise of religion, to make and subscribe the declaration aforefaid, and also to take the said oaths, or declaration of fidelity herein after mentioned, in case such person scruple the taking of an oath; and upon the refufal thereof, fuch justice of the peace is hereby required to commit fuch person to prison, without bail or mainprize, and to certify the name of such person to the next general or quarter-fessions of the peace to be held for that county, city, town, part, or division, where such person then resides; and if such person so committed shall, upon a second tender at the general or quarter-fessions, refuse to make and subscribe the declaration aforesaid, fuch person refusing shall be then and there recorded, and shall be taken thenceforth to all intents and purposes for a popish recusant convict, and fuffer accordingly, and incur all the penalties and forfeitures of the aforefaid laws.

XII. And whereas there are certain other persons, dissenters from the church of England, who scruple the taking of any oath, be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that every such person shall make and subscribe the aforesaid declaration; and also this declaration of fidelity following:*

IA. B. do fincerely promife, and folemnly declare, before God and the world, that I will be true and faithful to king William and queen Mary. And I folemnly profess and declare, that I do from my heart abhor, detest, and renounce, as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine, and position, that princes excommunicated, or deprived by the pope, or any authority of the see of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other what soever. And I do declare, that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have any power, jurisdiction, superiority, pre-cominence, or authority, ecclesiassical, or spiritual, within this realm.

And shall subscribe a profession of their christain belief in these words:

I A. B. profess Faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his eternal Son, the true God, and in the Holy Soirt, one God blessed for evermore; and do acknowledge the holy screptures of the Old and New Testament to be given by divine inspiration.

Which declaration and fubscription shall be made and entered of record at the general quarter-fessions of the peace for the county, city, or place, where every fuch person thall then reside. And every such person that shall make and subscribe the two declarations and profession aforefaid, being thereunto required, shall be exempted from all the pains and penalties of all and every the afore-mentioned statutes made against popish recufants, or protestant non-conformists; and also from the penalties of an act made in the 5th year of the reign of the late queen Elizabeth,* intitled, an act for the affurance of the queen's royal power over all estates and subjects within her dominions, for or by reason of such persons not taking or refusing to take the oath mentioned in the faid act. And also from the penalties of an act made in the 13th and 14th years of the reign of king Charles II.t intitled, an act for preventing mischiefs that may arise by certain persons called quakers refusing to take lawful oaths, and enjoy all other the benefits, privileges, and advantages, under the like limitations, provisoes, and conditions, which any other diffenters should or ought to enjoy by virtue of this act.

XIII. Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority afore-faid, that in case any person shall refuse to take the said oaths when tendered to them, which every justice of the peace is hereby impowered to do, such person shall not be admitted to make and subscribe the two declarations aforesaid, though required thereunto, either before any justice of the peace, or at the general or quarter-sessions, before or after any conviction of popish recusancy, as aforesaid, unless such person can, within thirty-one days after such tender of the declaration to him, produce two sufficient protestant witnesses to testify upon oath, that they believe him to be a protestant diffenter, or a certificate under the hands of sour protestants who are conformable to the church of England, or have taken the oaths, and subscribed the declaration above-named, and shall produce a certificate under the hands and seals of six or more sufficient men of the congregation to which he belongs, owning him for one of them.

XIV. Provided also, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that until such certificate, under the hands of six of his congregation, as aforesaid, be produced, and two protestant witnesses come to attest his being a protestant different, or a certificate under the hands of sour protestants, as aforesaid, be produced, the justice of peace shall, and hereby is required to take a recognizance, with two sureties, in

* 5 Eliz. cap. 1. † 13 and 14 Car. II. cap. 1.

the penal fum of fifty pounds, to be levied of his goods and chattels, lands and tenements, to the use of the king's and queen's majesties, their heirs and successors, for his producing the same; and if he cannot give such security, to commit him to prison, there to remain until he has produced such certificate, or two witnesses as aforesaid.

XV. Provided always, and it is the true intent and meaning of this act, that all the laws made and provided for the frequenting of divine fervice on the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday, shall be still in force, and executed against all persons that offend against the said laws, except such persons come to some congregation, or assembly of religious worship, allowed, or permitted by this act.

XVI. Provided always, and be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that neither this act, nor any clause, article, or thing, herein contained, shall extend, or be construed to extend, to give any ease, benefit, or advantage, to any papist or popish recusant whatfoever, or any person that shall deny, in his preaching or writing, the doctrine of the blessed trinity, as it is declared in the aforesaid articles of religion.

XVII. Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority afore-faid, that if any person or persons, at any time or times after the 10th day of June, do, and shall willingly, and of purpose, maliciously, or contemptuously, come into any cathedral, or parish church, chapel, or other congregation, permitted by this act, and disquiet or disturb the same, or misuse any preacher or teacher; such person or persons, upon proof thereof, before any justice of the peace, by two or more sufficient witnesses, shall find two sureties to be bound by recognizance in the penal sum of sifty pounds, and in default of such sureties shall be committed to prison, there to remain till the next general or quarter-sessions, and upon conviction of the said offence, at the said general or quarter-sessions, shall suffer the pain and penalty of twenty pounds, to the use of the king's and queen's majesties, their heirs and successors.**

XVIII. Provided always, that no congregation, or assembly for religious worship, shall be permitted or allowed by this act, until the place of such meeting shall be certified to the bishop of the diocese, or to the archdeacon of that archdeaconry, or to the justices of the peace, at the general or quarter-sessions of the peace for the county, city, or place, in which such meeting shall be held, and registered in the said bishop's or archdeacon's court respectively, or recorded at the said general or quarter-sessions, the register or clerk of the peace whereof respectively is hereby required to register the same, and to give certificate thereof to such person as shall demand the same, for which there shall be no greater see or reward taken than the sum of six-pence.

* See Geo. I. flat. 2, cap. 5, § 4.

No. XIII.

The occasional Conformity Act, intitled, an Act for preserving the Protestant Religion, by better securing the Church of England, as by Law established; and for confirming the Toleration granted to Protestant Disserters by an Act, intitled, an Act for exempting their Majesties Protestant Subjects, dissenting from the Church of England, from the Penalties of certain Laws, and for supplying the defects thereof; and for the further securing the Protestant Succession, by requiring the Practisers of the Law in North-Britain to take the Oaths, and subscribe the Declaration therein mentioned.

THEREAS an act was made in the thirteenth year of the reign of the late king Charles the second, intitled, an act for the well-governing and regulating of corporations.* And another act was made in the five-and-twentieth year of the reign of the faid late king Charles the second, intitled, an act for the preventing dangers which may happen from popish reculants. Both which acts were made for the fecurity of the church of England, as by law established. Now for the better fecuring the faid church, and quieting the minds of her Majesty's protestant subjects diffenting from the church of England, and rendering them fecure in the exercise of their religious worship; as also for the further strengthening the provision already made for the fecurity of the fuccession to the crown in the house of Hanover; be it enacted by the Queen's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and confent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in parliament affembled, and by the authority of the fame, that if any person or persons, after the five and-twentieth day of March, which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and twelve, either peers or commoners, who have, or shall have any office or offices, civil or military, or receive any pay, falary, fee, or wages, by reason of any patent or grant from or under her Majesty, or any of her Majesty's predecessors, or of her heirs or succeffors, or shall have any command or place of trust from or under her Majesty, her heirs or successors, or from any of her Majesty's predeceffors, or by her or their authority, or by authority derived from her or them, within that part of Great-Britain called England, the dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick-upon-I weed, or in the navy, or in the feveral islands of Jersey or Guernsey, or shall be admitted into any fervice or employment in the houthold or family

of her Majesty, her heirs or successors; or if any mayor, alderman, recorder, bailiff, town-clerk, common-council-man, or other person bearing any office of magistracy, or place of trust, or other employment relating to, or concerning the government of any of the respective cities, corporations, boroughs, cinque-ports, and their members, or other port towns within that part of Great-Britain called England, the dominion of Wales, town of Berwick, or either of the isles aforesaid, who by the said recited acts, or either of them, were or are obliged to receive the facrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the rites and usage of the church of England, as aforesaid, shall, at any time after their admission into their respective offices or employments, or after having such patent or grant, command or place of truft, as aforefaid, during his or their continuance in fuch office or offices, employment or employments, or having fuch patent or grant, command or place of trust, or any profit or advantage from the fame, knowingly or willingly refort to, or be prefent at any conventicle, affembly, or meeting, within England, Wales, Berwickupon-Tweed, or the ifles aforefaid, for the exercise of religion in other manner than according to the liturgy and practice of the church of England, in any place within that part of Great-Britain called England, dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, or the ifles aforefaid, at which conventicle, affembly, or meeting, there shall be ten persons or more assembled together, over and besides those of the same houshold, it it be in any house where there is a family inhabiting, or if it be in an house or place where there is no family inhabiting, then where any fuch ten perfons are so affembled, as aforefaid; or shall knowingly and willingly be present at any such meeting, in fuch house, or place, as aforefaid, although the liturgy be there used, where her Majesty, (whom God long preserve) and the princess Sophia, or such others as shall from time to time be lawfully appointed to be prayed for, shall not there be prayed for in express words according to the liturgy of the church of England, except where such particular offices of the liturgy are used, wherein there are no express directions to pray for her Majesty and the royal family, shall forfeit forty pounds, to be recovered by him or them that shall fue for the same, by any action of debt, bill, plaint, or information in any of her Majesty's courts at Westminster, wherein no effoign, protection, or wager of law, shall be allowed, or any more than one imparlance.

And be it further enacted, that every person convicted in any action to be brought, as aforesaid, or upon any information, presentment, or indictment, in any of her Majesty's courts at Westminster, or at the affizes, shall be disabled from thenceforth to hold such office or offices, employment or employments, or to receive any profit or advantage by reason of them, or of any grant, as aforesaid, and shall be adjudged incapable to bear any office or employment what-

loever

foever within that part of Great-Britain called England, the dominion of Wales, or the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, or the isles of

Jersey or Guernsey.

Provided always, and be it further enacted by the authority afore-faid, that if any person or persons who shall have been convicted as aforesaid, and thereby made incapable to hold any office or employment, or to receive any profit or advantage by reason of them, or of any grant as aforesaid, shall, after such conviction, conform to the church of England, for the space of one year, without having been present at any conventicle, assembly, or meeting, as aforesaid, and receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper, according to the rites and usage of the church of England, at least three times in the year, every such person or persons shall be capable of the grant of any the offices or employments aforesaid.

Provided also, and be it further enacted, that every such person so convicted, and afterwards conforming, in manner as aforesaid, shall, at the next term after his admission into any such office or employment, make oath in writing, in some one of her Majesty's courts at Westminster, in publick and open court, or at the next quarter-sessions for that county or place where he shall reside, between the hours of nine and twelve in the forenoon, he hath conformed to the church of England for the space of one year before such his admission, without having been present at any conventicle, assembly or meeting, as aforesaid, and that he hath received the sacrament of the Lord's supper at least three times in the year; which oath shall be there en-

Provided, that no person shall suffer any punishment for any offence committed against this act, unless oath be made of such offence before some judge or justice of the peace; (who is hereby empowered and required to take the said oath) within ten days after the said offence committed, and unless the said offence be prosecuted for the same within three months after the said offence committed, nor shall any person be convicted for any such offence, unless upon the oaths of

two credible witnesses at the least.

Provided always, that this act, or any thing therein contained, or any offence against the same, shall not extend or be judged to take away or make void any office of inheritance, nevertheless; so as such person having or enjoying any such office of inheritance, do or shall substitute and appoint his sufficient deputy, (which such officer is hereby empowered from time to time to make or change, any former law or usage to the contrary notwithstanding) to exercise the said office, until such time as the person having such office shall conform as aforesaid.

And it is hereby further enacted and declared by the authority aforefaid, that the toleration granted to protestant dissenters, by the act made in the first year of the reign of king William and queen Mary, intitled,

intitled, an act for exempting their Majesties protestant subjects, dissenting from the church of England, from the penalties of certain laws, shall be, and is hereby ratified and confirmed, and that the same act shall at all times be inviolably observed, for the exempting of such protestant dissenters as are thereby intended, from the pains and penalties therein mentioned.

And for rendering the faid last-mentioned act more effectual, according to the true intent and meaning thereof, be it further enacted and declared by the authority aforefaid, that if any person diffenting from the church of England, (not in holy orders, or pretended holy orders, or pretending to holy orders, nor any preacher or teacher of any congregation) who should have been intitled to the benefit of the faid last-mentioned act, if such person had duly taken, made, and fubscribed the oaths and declaration, or otherwise qualified him or herfelf, as required by the faid act, and now is or shall be profecuted upon or by virtue of any of the penal statutes, from which protestant diffenters are exempted by the faid act, shall, at any time during such profecution, take, make, and subscribe the said oaths and declaration, or, being of the people called quakers, shall make and subscribe the aforesaid declaration, and also the declaration of fidelity, and subscribe the profession of their christian belief according to the said act, or before any two of her Majesty's justices of the peace, (who are hereby required to take and return the fame to the next quarter-fessions of the peace, to be there recorded) fuch person shall be, and is hereby intitled to the benefit of the faid act, as fully and effectually as if such person had duly qualified himself within the time prescribed by the faid act, and shall be thenceforth exempted and discharged from all the penalties and forfeitures incurred by force of any of the aforefaid penal statutes.

And whereas it is or may be doubted, whether a preacher or teacher of any congregation of differting protestants, duly in all respects qualified according to the faid act, be allowed, by virtue of the faid act, to officiate in any congregation, in any county, other than that in which he fo qualified himself, although in a congregation or place of meeting duly certified and registered as is required by the said act; be it declared and enacted by the authority aforefaid, that any fuch preacher or teacher, fo duly qualified according to the faid act, shall be, and is hereby allowed to officiate in any congregation, although the fame be not in the county wherein he was fo qualified; provided that the faid congregation, or place of meeting, hath been, before fuch officiating, duly certified and registered or recorded according to the faid act: and fuch preacher or teacher shall, if required, produce a certificate of his having so qualified himself, under the hand of the clerk of the peace for the county or place where he fo qualified himfelf, which certificate such clerk of the peace is hereby required to make; and shall also, before any justice of the peace of such county or

place where he shall so officiate, make and subscribe such declaration, and take such oaths as are mentioned in the said act, if thereunto

required.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that on or before the fifteenth day of June next, all advocates, writers to the fignet, notaries publick, and other members of the college of justice, within that part of her Majesty's kingdom of Great-Britain called Scotland, shall be, and are hereby obliged to take and subscribe the oath appointed by the act of the fixth year of her Majesty's reign, intitled, an act for the better security of her Majesty's person and government, before the lords of session of the aforesaid part of her Majesty's kingdom, except such of the said persons who have already taken the same: and if any of the persons aforesaid do, or shall neglect or refuse to take and subscribe the said oath, as aforesaid, such person shall be ipso sacross adjudged incapable, and disabled in law to have, enjoy, or exercise in any manner his said employment or practice.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that in all time coming, no person or persons shall be admitted to the employment of advocate, writer to the signet, notary publick, or any office belonging to the said college of justice, until he or they have taken and subscribed the aforesaid oath, in manner as is above directed.

No. XIII.

The Schism Act, intitled, an Act to prevent the growth of Schism, and for the further security of the Churches of England and Ireland, as by Law established.*

WHEREAS by an act of parliament made in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of his late majesty king Charles the second, intitled, an act for the uniformity of publick prayers, and administration of sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies; and for establishing the form of making, ordaining, and consecrating bishops, priests, and deacons, in the church of England; it is amongst other things enacted, that every school-master keeping any publick or private school, and every person instructing or teaching any youth in any house or private samily, as a tutor or school-master, should subscribe, before his or their respective archbishop, bishop, or ordinary of the diocese, a declaration or acknowledgment, in which, amongst other things, was contained as follows, viz. I A. B. do declare, that I will conform to the

liturgy of the Church of England, as it is now by law established; and if any school-master or other person, instructing or teaching youth in any private house or family, as a tutor or school-master, should instruct or teach any youth as a tutor or school-master, before licence obtained from his respective archbishop, bishop, or ordinary of the diocese, according to the laws and statutes of this realm, for which he should pay twelve-pence only, and before such subscription and acknowledgement made as aforefaid, then every fuch school-master and other, instructing and teaching, as aforesaid, should, for the first offence, fuffer three months imprisonment without bail or mainprize: and for every fecond and other fuch offence, should fuffer three months imprisonment without bail or mainprize, and also forfeit to his Majesty the sum of five pounds. And whereas, notwithstanding the said act, fundry papills, and other persons diffenting from the church of England, have taken upon them to instruct and teach youth, as tutors or school-masters, and have for such purpose openly set up schools and feminaries, whereby, if due and speedy remedy be not had, great danger might enfue to this church and state: for the making the faid recited act more effectual, and preventing the danger aforesaid, be it enacted by the queen's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and confent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the fame, that every person or persons who shall, from and after the first day of August next ensuing, keep any publick or private school or feminary, or teach and instruct any youth, as tutor or school-master, within that part of Great-Britain called England, the dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, before such person or persons shall have subscribed so much of the said declaration and acknowledgment as is before recited, and shall have had and obtained a licence from the respective archbishop, bishop, or ordinary of the place, under his feal of office, (for which the party shall pay one shilling and no more, over and above the duties payable to her Majesty for the same) and shall be thereof lawfully convicted, upon an information, presentment, or indictment, in any of her Majesty's courts of record at Westminster, or at the affizes, or before justices of over and terminer, shall and may be committed to the common gaol of fuch county, riding, city, or town corporate, as aforefaid, there to remain, without bail or mainprize, for the space of three months, to commence from the time that such person or persons shall be received into the faid gaol.

Provided always, and be it hereby enacted, that no licence shall be granted by any archbishop, bishop, or ordinary, unless the person or persons who shall sue for the same, shall produce a certificate of his or their having received the sacrament according to the usage of the church of England, in some parish church, within the space of one year next before the grant of such licence, under the hand of the

minister

minister and one of the churchwardens of the said parish, nor until such persons or persons shall have taken and subscribed the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and abjuration, as appointed by law, and shall have made and subscribed the declaration against transubstantiation, contained in the act made in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of king Charles the second, intitled, an act for preventing dangers which may happen from popish recusants, before the said archbishop, bishop, or ordinary; which said oaths and declarations the said archbishop, bishop, or ordinary, are hereby impowered and required to administer and receive; and such archbishops, bishops, and ordinaries, are required to file such certificates, and keep an exact register of the same, and of the taking and subscribing such oaths and declarations.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforefaid, that any person who shall have obtained a licence, and subscribed the declarations, and taken and subscribed the oaths, as above appointed, and shall at any time after, during the time of his or their keeping any publick or private school or seminary, or instructing any youth as tutor or school-master, knowingly or willingly, resort to, or be present at any conventicle, affembly, or meeting, within England, Wales, or town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, for the exercise of religion in any other manner than according to the liturgy and practice of the church of England, or shall knowingly and willingly be present at any meeting or affembly for the exercise of religion, although the liturgy be there used, where her Majesty, (whom God long preserve) and the elector of Brunswick, or such others as shall from time to time, be lawfully appointed to be prayed for, shall not there be prayed for in express words, according to the liturgy of the church of England, except where fuch particular offices of the liturgy are used, wherein there are no express directions to pray for her Majesty and the royal family, shall be liable to the penalties in this act, and from thenceforth be incapable of keeping any publick or private school or seminary, or instructing any youth as tutor or school-master.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforefaid, that if any person licensed, as aforesaid, shall teach any other catechism than the catechism set forth in the book of common prayer, the licence of such person shall from thenceforth be void, and such person shall be liable to the penalties of this act.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforefaid, that it shall and may be lawful, to and for the bishop of the diocese, or other proper ordinary, to re-cite any person or persons whatsoever, keeping school or seminary, or teaching without licence as aforesaid, and to proceed against, and punish such person or persons by ecclesiastical censure, subject to such appeals as in cases of ordinary jurisdiction: this act or any other law to the contrary notwithstanding.

Provided always, that no person offending against this act shall be punished twice for the same offence.

Provided also, that where any person shall be prosecuted without fraud or covin in any of the courts aforesaid, for any offence contrary to this act, the same person shall not afterwards be prosecuted for the same offence in any of the said courts, whilst such former prosecution shall be pending and carried on without any wilful delay; and in case of any such after-prosecution, the person so doubly prosecuted may alledge, plead, or shew forth in his defence against the same, such former prosecution pending, or judgment or sentence thereupon given, the said pleader first making oath before the judge or judges of the court, where such after-prosecution shall be pending, and which said oath he or they are hereby impowered and required to administer, that the said prior prosecution was not commenced or carried on by his means, or with his consent or procurement, or by any fraud or collusion of any other person to his knowledge or belief.

Provided always, that this act, or any thing therein contained, shall not extend, nor be construed to extend, to any tutor, teaching or instructing youth in any college or hall, within either of the universities of that part of Great-Britain called England, nor to any tutor who shall be employed by any noblemen or noblewomen, to teach his or her own children, grand-children, or great grand-children only, in his or her family; provided such tutor, so teaching any nobleman or noblewoman's family, do in every respect qualify himself according to this act, except only in that of taking a licence from

the bishop.

Provided also, that the penalties in this act shall not extend to any foreigner, or alien, of the foreign reformed churches, allowed, or to be allowed by the Queen's Majesty, her heirs or successors, in England, for instructing or teaching any child, or children, or any such

foreigner or alien only, as a tutor or school-master.

Provided always, and be it further enacted by the authority afore-faid, that if any person who shall have been convicted as aforesaid, and thereby made incapable to teach or instruct any youth as aforesaid, shall, after such conviction, conform to the church of England for the space of one year, without having been present at any conventicle, assembly, or meeting, as aforesaid, and receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper, according to the rites and usage of the church of England, at least three times in that year, every such person or persons shall be again capable of having and using a licence to teach school, or to instruct youth as a tutor or school-master, he or they also performing all that is made requisite thereunto by this act.

Provided also, and be it further enacted, that every such person so convicted, and afterwards conforming in manner as aforesaid, shall, at the next term after his being admitted to, or taking upon him to teach or instruct youth as aforesaid, make oath in writing, in some one of her Majesty's courts at Westminster, in publick and open court, or at the next quarter-sessions for that county or place where

he shall reside, between the hours of nine and twelve in the forenoon, that he hath conformed to the church of England, for the space of one year before such his admission, without having been present at any conventicle, assembly, or meeting, as aforesaid, and that he hath received the sacrament of the Lord's supper at least three times in the year, which oath shall be there enrolled, and kept upon record.

Provided always, that this act shall not extend, or be construed to extend to any person, who, as a tutor or school-master, shall instruct youth in reading, writing, arithmetick, or any part of mathematical learning only, so far as such mathematical learning relates to navigation, or any mechanical art only, and so as such reading, writing, arithmetick, or mathematical learning, shall be taught in the English

tongue only.

And whereas by act of parliament made in Ireland, in the feventeenth and eighteenth years of his faid late Majesty king Charles the fecond, intitled, an act for the uniformity of publick prayers, and administration of the facraments, and other rites and ceremonies; and for establishing the form of making, ordaining, and confecrating of bishops, priests, and deacons, in the church of Ireland; it is enacted, concerning schoolmasters, and other persons instructing youth in private families, in Ireland, as in and by the above-recited act is enacted concerning school-masters and others instructing youth in private families, in that part of Great-Britain called England. And whereas it is reasonable, that where the law is the same, the remedy and means for enforcing the execution of the law should be the fame; be it therefore enacted, by the authority aforefaid, that all and every the remedies, provisions, and clauses, in and by this act given, made, and enacted, shall extend, and be deemed, construed, and adjudged to extend to Ireland, in as full and effectual manner as if Ireland had been expressly named and mentioned in all and every the clauses in this act.



No. XIV.

The REPEAL, intituled, an Act for strengthening the Protestant Interest in these Kingdoms.

WHEREAS an act of parliament * was made in the tenth year of the reign of the late queen Anne, + invaled, An act for preserving the protestant religion by better securing the courch of England 5th of king Geo. I. cap. 4. + 10 Annæ, cap. 2.

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as by law established, and for confirming the toleration granted to protestant dissenters, by an act [intituled, an act for exempting their Majefty's protestant subjects dissenting from the church of England from the penalties of certain laws;] and for supplying the defects thereof, and for the further fecuring the protestant succession, by requiring the practifers of the law in North-Britain to take the oaths, and subscribe the declaration therein mentioned. And whereas part of the faid act, as also another act herein after mentioned, have been found to be inconvenient; be it therefore enacted by the king's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in parliament affembled, and by the authority of the fame, that the faid recited act passed in the tenth year of the late queen Anne,* from the beginning thereof to these words; [and it is hereby farther enacted and declared, by the authority aforefaid, that the toleration granted to protestant dissenters.] and also one act made in the twelfth year of the reign of the late queen Anne, + [intituled, an act to prevent the growth of schism, and for the further security of the churches of England and Ireland as by law established shall be, and are hereby repealed, annulled, and made void.

Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforefaid, that if any mayor, bailiff, or other magistrate, in that part of Great-Britain called England, the dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, or the isles of Guernsey or Jersey, shall knowingly or willingly resort to, or be present at any publick meeting for religious worship, other than the church of England as by law established, in the gown, or other peculiar habit, or attended with the ensign or ensigns of or belonging to such his office, that every such mayor, bailist, or other magistrate being thereof convicted by due course of law, shall be disabled to hold such office or offices, employment or employments, and shall be adjudged incapable to bear any publick office or employment whatsoever within that part of Great-Britain called England, the dominion of Wales, and town of Ber-

wick-upon-Tweed, or isles of Jersey and Quernsey.

^{* 10} Annæ, cap. 2; and 12 Annæ, flat. 2. cap. 7.

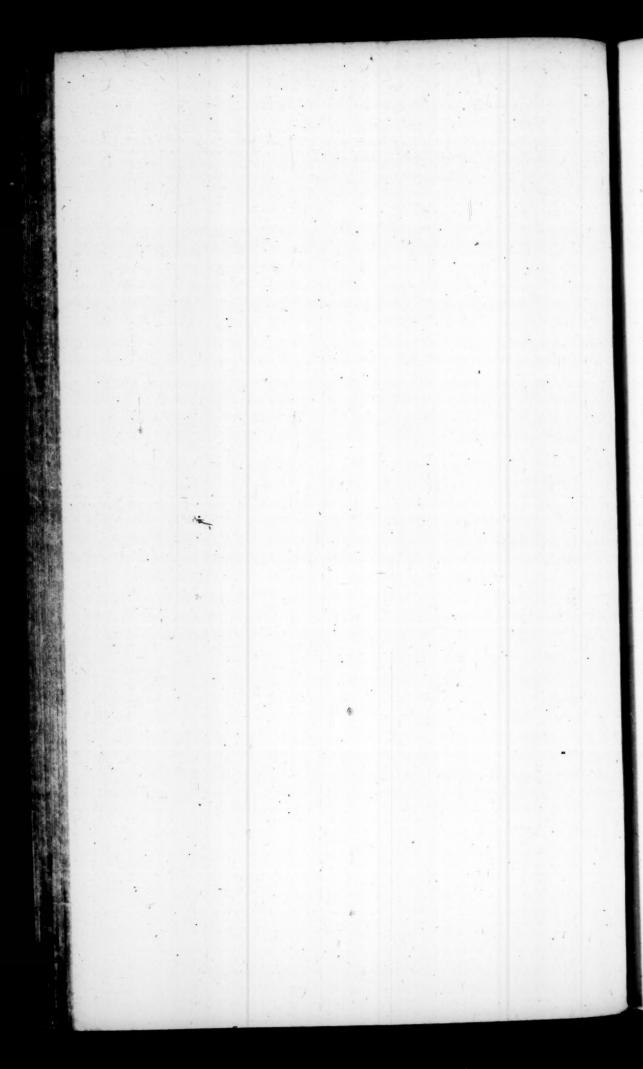
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GENERAL INDEX

TO

Mr. NEALE's

HISTORY OF THE PURITANS.



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